

# National Municipal Review

January 1958

Volume XLVII, No. 1

- 11 Win All-America City Honors
- Invisible Government — *Editorial*
- Who Pays the Piper?
- Cold War Casualties
- One Vote, One Value
- Jefferson Parish Approves Charter



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# National Municipal Review

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## News of the League

# 11 Win All-America City Honors

Eleven cities, large and small, have won All-America City honors for 1957. The awards, jointly sponsored by the National Municipal League and *Look* Magazine, are based on important community progress achieved by effective citizen action.



George H. Gallup

Announced also in the February 4 issue of *Look*, they are:

**Albuquerque, New Mexico.** Confronted with a soaring population (doubled since 1950) citizens replaced a slow-moving commission with a forward-looking, progressive one. New sources of revenue were developed and city services expanded and improved.

**Clarksburg, West Virginia.** Formerly dominated by a one-party press and hamstrung by a freak charter, citizens organized the Non-Partisan Association of more than 1,200 members which purchased a newspaper and forced a charter board election. NPA recruited candidates for the charter board, won a modern charter and elected seven members of the new city council.

**Galesburg, Illinois.** Impatient with repeated failures of its city council to provide needed public improvements citizens installed a council-manager gov-

ernment and got more than \$12 million worth of public works in a two-year period.

**Ketchikan, Alaska.** A frontier city subsisting on a fishing economy until 1947 decided it wanted to take a place among modern industrial cities. Citizens organized in 1943, adopted the council-manager plan in 1949, and brought in a \$60 million pulp mill — the first in Alaska. More recent citizen action has resulted in \$12.8 million of new public facilities, an urban renewal program and a new level of law enforcement which no longer tolerates vice centers common ten years ago.

**Miami-Dade County, Florida.** One of the fastest growing among the larger metropolitan areas, Miami-Dade was faced with problems common to such centers. Citizens working closely with professional consultants designed a new metropolitan-wide, all-purpose government without destroying existing local units, became practical politicians to get the voters of the state to approve a county home rule constitutional amendment, then persuaded voters in Dade County to accept the new plan.

**Middletown, Ohio.** In the postwar period nearly every Middletown citizen participated in one or more civic betterment programs. In 1947, an improved commission-manager government was adopted. In 1951, Middletown's "progress program" gave the community new parks, playgrounds, better police and fire protection and new arterial thoroughfares. On the heels of these improvements came a new sewer system, flood protection program and

(Continued on page 52)

## September Dates Set for '58 Conference

The dates of September 14 to 17, 1958, for the 64th annual National Conference on Government at the Antlers Hotel, Colorado Springs, were approved by the League's Council at its annual business meeting held November 17 in connection with the National Conference on Government in Cleveland.

A. Earl Bryson, newly elected member of the League's Council and general chairman of the local arrangements committee, told of tentative plans which he hoped would influence many persons to combine their vacations with attendance at the Conference.

George H. Gallup was reelected chairman of the Council. Members chosen to serve with the president, first and second vice presidents, chairman of the Council and treasurer as the Executive Committee were Frederick L. Bird, W. Howard Chase, Richard S. Childs, Mark S. Matthews, Vernon C. Myers and Frank A. Vanderlip, Jr.

Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., and Alfred Willoughby were reelected treasurer and executive director, respectively.

At the close of the meeting, on motion of Lee M. Sharrar of Houston, the following was adopted by unanimous standing vote:

"Be it remembered that for the first time in a third of a century we assemble in an annual meeting without the benefit of the cooperation of our long-time treasurer, Carl H. Pforzheimer. His generosity and loyalty linger with us tangibly in the form of our permanent headquarters that bear his name and facilitate our crusade, and his years of modest self-effacing fellowship linger in our hearts and memories.

"We acknowledge and record as well his steadfast civic leadership in his own communities, beginning at home yet

yielding positive results in ever larger areas. He was a fine citizen!"

### **Endowment Group Has First Meeting**

Members of the National Municipal League's new Endowment Committee held its first meeting November 19 during the National Conference on Government in Cleveland to consider plans to obtain bequests and gifts.

Robert H. Fouke, San Francisco, is chairman of the committee, which includes Jac Chambliss, Chattanooga; Philip C. Ebeling, Dayton; John B. Gage, Kansas City, Missouri; Harry T. Lee, Indianapolis;



Robert H. Fouke

John S. Linen, New York; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut; J. Raburn Monroe, New Orleans; Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., New York; Lee M. Sharrar, Houston; Edmund B. Shea, Milwaukee; Harold S. Shefelman, Seattle; James A. Singer, St. Louis; and H. Vaughan Watkins, Jackson, Mississippi.

### **Palmer Named Director**

H. Bruce Palmer, president of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company and a regional vice president of the National Municipal League, has been elected a director of the Board for Fundamental Education, a non-profit organization to promote a program and train leadership in self-help principles for individual and community improvement.



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## **Editorial Comment**

### **Invisible Government**

**T**OUCHED off by a spectacular assassination in a barber's chair and the more or less accidental raid on a meeting of what some called the board of directors of the Mafia, there has been a lot of brave talk during the last few weeks about "invisible government."

There has also been some rather hysterical harassment of the men who attended the meeting at Apalachin, New York, and of others whose reputations for constructive citizenship do not equal that of one hapless fellow who insisted he just happened to drop in and did not know such a meeting was in progress.

The policy of harassment, in which district attorneys and police repeatedly summon their victims for hours of futile questioning, is uncomfortably reminiscent of the similar brief performance that followed the televised Kefauver hearings of several years ago. It is difficult to believe that the authorities hope to get anything from this but decisions by the victims to leave town.

No one is likely to protest about this extra-legal abuse of the civil liberties and rights of persons for whom there is no respect; but there still is a principle involved and a danger of setting a precedent in popular approval of such arbitrary action.

Most of the objects of this attention have criminal records and their obviously prosperous condition suggests that their current activities and sources of income might be profitably investigated. Indeed, police and

district attorneys must have been aware of them for years but seldom have gathered proper evidence to prosecute them. Such prosecutions as there have been were chiefly for income tax evasion.

Why has adequate evidence of criminal activity not been obtained? Is it because such men, enriched by organized gambling, the dope traffic, the numbers game and other rackets on a national scale have no trouble buying distinguished lawyers and powerful politicians?

This is your "invisible government": not these punks whose enforcing weapons are terror and murder but the "respectable" people of influence who protect them — for a price. The revelation a couple of years ago that leading politicians of both parties had accepted gifts of stock in New York State race tracks is just one of many examples of what happens.

If influence peddlers have palsied the arm of justice in municipality and state, we have another illustration of default that causes responsibilities to gravitate to the national government. Certainly something has to be done in this situation which has become a national disgrace.

Much as those who work for good decent government might regret the "trend toward Washington," it is difficult to see how this nation-wide criminal conspiracy can be broken by anything less than a concerted campaign by greatly strengthened forces of federal agents.

The "get out of town" technique

always has been pretty silly and solves nothing; it simply salves the consciences of those who are unwill-

ing or unable to do their duty and may have repercussions that will adversely affect the civil liberties of all.

## 45 Years Later

**T**HE supervisors of Los Angeles County are conducting a civil service examination for the selection of an eligible list from which they will appoint a new chief administrative officer—substantially, a county manager.

It may well be that this is the most important post ever filled by such procedure, for the CAO, as they call him, directs \$500 million of expenditures in an area of 4,083 square miles with 33,000 employees serving 4,300,000 people.

It is in scale of operations commensurate with the largest American cities and in complexity the toughest, since the county has been the scene of a fabulous and sudden postwar influx of population. It provides municipal-type services under 417 contracts to many of its 47 cities and its twelve unincorporated areas; in several cases, Lakewood (70,000 population) and others, it furnishes all the services. Its performance has commanded universal respect.

When the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government was held in Los Angeles

in 1912, some of the leaders of thought attending were asked to advise the city and the county charter commissions then in session. It was the Progressive era. Bold new ideas were welcome.

Elliott H. Goodwin, for the National Civil Service League, was effective in advocating the merit system for even top places. Richard S. Childs, on the program for a paper on "Ramshackle County Government," presented a gay satire which he was asked to repeat before the county charter commission, where it was laughingly pronounced an exact description of local conditions. The commission thereafter lopped off thirteen petty elective offices from the county structure, leaving a single strong board with ample unified powers.

In later years, as the council-manager idea spread, the CAO's post was created to implement the board's decisions, thus providing something of a puzzle for those who doubt that the council-manager form of government will work in the largest communities.

# Who Pays the Piper?

State-local fiscal relations must be altered to solve dilemma of cities and achieve efficiency.

By FREDERICK L. BIRD\*

NO one need doubt the fact that most local governments throughout the United States have financial problems, some of them exceedingly difficult and baffling. Are state and federal grants the only solution? Such items represented about 27 per cent of local government revenues last year compared with only 22 per cent ten years earlier. This trend, along with the constant importuning of the state legislatures and Congress for more local aid, suggests a rather widespread belief that grants are the main cure, if not the only cure, for local government financial ills.

Federal and state grants have served some useful purposes in local government finance and probably can be made even more useful; but they are far from being the only solution, and in some respects are a deterrent to solution, of the financial problems of local government.

Some of the intended purposes of grants are: to stimulate the development of new programs or raise the standards of existing programs, as in welfare, education, highways and urban renewal; to permit the collection of taxes by agencies of broader jurisdiction that presumably can do a more effective job; and, by various

allocation formulae, to produce a greater equalization of resources for financing government. These are worthy purposes, within reasonable limits; but grants also tend to be induced by certain local deficiencies that can be corrected better by other means and to have certain by-product effects that are undesirable.

Grants and shared taxes have a tendency under some conditions to stimulate local irresponsibility. Local governments, if they are competent to govern, should be competent to determine their own revenue needs. But all too often adequate means of providing these needs locally is withheld and the state legislature substitutes its judgment on some arbitrary fiscal aid basis without sufficient knowledge of the variables in local conditions.

There appears to be a tendency also for local responsibility in controlling expenditures to weaken as fiscal aid becomes a progressively larger factor in the revenue structure. This weakening becomes conspicuous when fiscal aid is carried to such extremes as to reduce local effort below a normal level. The use of fiscal aid for equalization of resources is commendable in principle but some of the methods actually used fail to do a good job of equalization. At one extreme they distribute money where it is not needed, as a matter of policy, and at the other extreme they per-

\* Dr. Bird, consultant to Dun & Bradstreet, was director of municipal research for that organization from 1932 until 1956. This article is Dr. Bird's address before the National Conference on Government's session on Financial Aid to Local Government, November 19, 1957, at Cleveland.

petuate local governments that have no good reason for existence.

Local government is most favorably and strongly situated when it has a responsibility for performing only those functions that it is well qualified to perform, when it has adequate authority to draw on local resources to finance these functions, and when it has the responsibility for relying on these resources to a reasonable maximum of effort. This does not debar fiscal aid but it rules out the kinds of fiscal aid that are poor substitutes for local authority and local responsibility.

The best alternative to increasing dependence on fiscal aid and to the continuance of undesirable types of aid is a new dispensation in state-local fiscal relations. In some states this would require virtually a revolution, in others it would require clearing out a lot of jerry-built superstructures and strengthening the foundations of the relationship.

In the new dispensation that I have in mind, five things would be done. The constitutional and statutory regulation and restriction of local government finances would be reviewed and the detrimental features discarded in favor of a constructive relationship. The revenue system of the state would be planned and developed in terms of total state-local expenditure needs instead of in terms of state needs, with local needs as a sort of grudging afterthought. The most inefficient features of the structures and organization of local government would be weeded out instead of being permitted to multiply. The distribution of responsibilities among the levels and classes of governments would be reviewed and ra-

tionalized. All suitable sources of locally raised revenue and the means to make them more productive would be studied and their use authorized and encouraged.

#### Abolish Tax Limits

In weeding out detrimental financial restrictions, a good place to start work would be to abolish all constitutional and statutory local real property tax rate limits; but with the proviso that there be sufficient alternative sources of revenue available to permit considerable flexibility in local revenue policy determination. When tax rate limits apply to the levy of taxes for the payment of debt service, all they accomplish is to impair municipal credit and increase the cost of borrowing. When they apply to taxes for current expenditure, they are too rigid to allow for the varying problems of different communities, they discourage good budgeting, encourage evasion by borrowing and handicap the stabilizing advantages of pay-as-you-go capital financing. Under the combination of rate limits and property assessment at small fractions of full value that prevails in many sections of the country, localities are able to get by with a substandard taxpaying effort and demand ever-increasing amounts of fiscal aid.

Something constructive needs to be done, too, about removing the limitations on the ability of local governments to borrow for capital purposes as economically as possible within their reasonable fiscal capacity. This is not intended to imply that local debt limits should be abandoned, though some of them are so futile as to be virtually useless,

but is directed to the harsh, unrealistic limitations in a number of states that force local governments into expensive and wasteful evasion, such as the creation of special districts and authorities when they wish to borrow or the use of high-interest-rate revenue bonds or limited obligation bonds when the employment of full faith and credit obligations would be considerably more economical. Under a new dispensation, more attention would be given to the appropriate choice of borrowing medium, better methods of marketing bonds, good debt planning and management, and capital programming and budgeting.

#### **Plan Finance Structure**

Fully as important as the removal of these and other restrictions on the ability of local governments to use their potential resources is the need for planning state revenue structures in terms of state-local over-all financial needs. Since the state creates local governments and determines their share of the governing job, it must see to it that their financial resources match their responsibilities. This means that the state-local revenue system as a whole, not just the state-level system, must be adequate, reasonably equitable and susceptible of efficient administration. In order to bring this about, most states need far more information about their local governments than they now possess and need to build into their central fiscal planning and budgeting organization an agency so competent to deal with the local situation as to command the confidence and respect of local governments.

In the third place, one reason for the pressure for more state grants and for the federal government to get more deeply into the grant program is the inefficient structure of local government in the great majority of states. On the one hand, we have too many small, inadequate, uneconomic local units of government. Instead of acting to correct this inefficient structure we use grants to subsidize its continuance. Most metropolitan areas in the United States have, on an area-wide basis, the potential fiscal capacity to meet local government financial requirements; but in the hodge-podge of political subdivisions that comprises each area there is no correlation of taxable resources and needs.

The consequence is that the states collect taxes in the several areas and channel them back in the form of so-called state aid but with some of the proceeds diverted during the course of the round trip. On the other hand, we have one class of local governments — our metropolitan counties — that are well situated to develop the potentials in local financial resources; but most of them are incompetent, because of weak government, to do the job and most of the states have shown no great alacrity in improving the situation.

Still another alternative to more fiscal aid under a new dispensation in state-local fiscal relations would be a redistribution of governmental responsibilities wherever wasteful duplication exists or a function can be administered and financed more successfully by another class or level of government or by the creation of some new unit of government. A large amount of such redistribution



has been in progress over the past several years but a systematic, comprehensive evaluation of the opportunities would disclose in many states that many more constructive changes are possible.

Some further assumption of responsibilities by the states would appear desirable, though generalization on this point is precluded by wide state-to-state variations in geography and economy as well as in actual present practice. Among the potentialities in various states would be the taking on of more responsibility for city streets and rural roads, for health and hospitals, for water supply conservation and development and water pollution control, and for higher education.

In some instances, state assumption of responsibility for capital financing, or for guaranteeing the capital financing, of basic local projects would tend to lower costs and bring them within the fiscal capacity of local government. Several states already have done this effectively on varying scales, while other states have granted extensive construction aid, particularly for schools, in such inept ways as to miss the full potential savings in local bond interest rates.

At the local level, there are many illustrations of elimination of wasteful duplication and of increasing local fiscal capacity by widening the base of fiscal responsibility. This has been mainly through transfer of functions from central cities and suburbs to metropolitan counties and, in some instances, metropolitan districts. It has been done variously for health, hospitals, schools, water supply, sewage disposal and other functions. It

could be done much more extensively and successfully if county governments were modernized and made an effective agency for urban administration. We could rid ourselves, for example, of the ludicrous and wasteful policy of maintaining a host of police departments in a single metropolitan jurisdiction.

#### **Lines of Action**

There remains the question of what local government, with its retarding fiscal limitations relaxed, its structure improved and its responsibilities more suitably distributed, should use for money. Significantly, local government would be in a better position to follow the principle that the agency that spends the money should raise the money itself as far as it is efficiently possible. Five lines of action are suggested, assuming that local governments are given adequate discretion to develop their potential revenue resources: development of more equitable and productive real estate taxes, greater utilization by the larger cities of productive nonproperty taxes, making nonproperty taxes available to smaller communities through county or area-wide tax jurisdiction and administration, more effective utilization of benefit taxes and charges, and provision for local supplementation of broad-based state taxes.

As for real estate taxes, they are now both underused and overused by local governments that ordinarily have little choice as to policy. Last year, in cities over 500,000 population, for example, the range in the yield of the real estate tax was from \$40 to \$143 per capita. The many local governments on the low side of

this range have a substantial unused tax potential. What the real property tax needs for greater equity and productivity, however, is curtailment of exemptions and competent, equitable assessment. These points have been stressed many times.

#### Nonproperty Taxes

The experience of a number of the larger cities has shown that productive nonproperty taxes, particularly payroll taxes and sales taxes, can be administered effectively and utilized to give good flexibility to local revenue systems. Central cities also have found the payroll tax a means of financing some of the special costs arising from their positions as employment and service centers for adjacent areas. The smaller communities are not well situated to administer these high-yield taxes; but there are nonproperty taxes of moderate yield, such as utility gross receipts taxes, that are generally usable.

One means of making nonproperty tax revenue available to all types and sizes of local communities that needs more exploration is the device of having the county levy the tax and apportion the proceeds among the local communities. Erie County and Monroe County in New York, of which Buffalo and Rochester are the county seats, have done this for the retail sales tax, while Jefferson County, Alabama, which is metropolitan Birmingham, does this for beer, gasoline and tobacco taxes. Some consideration also has been given to the proposals that metropolitan area-wide taxing authorities might be created for such purposes or that adjoining counties might collaborate in administering some local

tax. This device is familiar through its use for property taxes but its value has been largely overlooked for other taxes.

Still another device is the local adoption of a tax as a supplement or surcharge to a state tax. This differs from a shared tax in that responsibility for the levy of the tax rests with the local government. Not only is duplicated administration avoided but also the local government is not dependent on a state allocation formula that may distribute a shared tax to its disadvantage. The  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent local retail sales taxes in Illinois and Mississippi and the 5-cent local cigarette tax in Florida, for example, are locally authorized, state collected taxes. One function of the over-all planning of state-local revenue systems referred to earlier would be the provision of a broad based state tax designed for local supplementation.

Finally, local revenue systems should make the fullest use that is fair and reasonable of revenues based on benefits received and costs incurred. There are many basic services that the people should have irrespective of the taxes they pay; but when persons secure from a city benefits and privileges that are not shared by all, there is much justification for special benefit charges and taxes. There is no reason, for example, why motorists should be entitled to free garage space on city streets. In fact, there is considerable justification for a judicious use of benefit taxes to hold down the cost of government by limiting or adjusting the demands for government services.

# Cold War Casualties

Governor holds urban residents chief sufferers from legislative neglect, massive expenditures for peace.

By LeROY COLLINS\*

NOT long ago, one of the national magazines carried a startling preview of the staggering size many of our cities will soon take. This is a magnificent challenge to us today, for we are the ones — far more than our successors — who will determine what kind of place in which to live these metropolitan giants will be. Indeed we have it largely within our power to decide whether they will become cesspools of crime, delinquency, alcoholism and decadence or whether they will become great centers of civilization and the good life.

Right now, we are being pushed for the answer. Already many of our urban giants are developing trends of growth — alarming trends — which appear on the city planner's map as concentric circles, with blight and rot spreading out like a cancer. Fleeing before this blight are those residents who can afford it, and taking their place are those who cannot afford to live anywhere else.

\* Mr. Collins, governor of Florida, was a leader in educational advancement during his eighteen years in the legislature as representative and senator. He recently served as chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board. Because of his leadership in support of constructive legislation of all types, he was twice selected in the St. Petersburg *Times* poll of newspaper correspondents and editors as the most valuable state senator. This article is Governor Collins' address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, November 19, 1957, at Cleveland.

Cramped by long outgrown city limits and explosive pressures from the center, municipalities find themselves in the untenable position of having to provide more and more governmental services on a proportionately dwindling tax base. Many of those who use the city services live in suburbs and pay their taxes in the main there.

Oddly enough, while all this has been taking place, our state and federal governments have been diligently promoting the expansion of a whole host of rural services — 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, U. S. Department of Agriculture and state extension services, county agents, the soil bank and a countless variety of other public and semi-public programs designed to help our rural friends cope with the problems of farm life. And I would be the last to decry the attention the farm families of America have been receiving. All too frequently the attention has been too late and nearly always too little.

The point is that, while governments' concern has been concentrated on the farmer, our population has been funneling into the cities — with nothing like a corresponding interest on the part of state and federal governments in the daily life of the urban dweller. And we in government have failed to recognize that the so-called "farm problem" and

the "urban problem" are, indeed, two sides of the same coin — the migration from farm to city.

Today, Florida is fast becoming overwhelmingly an urban state. This is a new development. In my lifetime I will have seen our state's population shift from eight out of ten living in rural areas to eight out of ten living in the cities.

While Florida is the fastest-growing major state in America, this trend toward urbanization is a national one. At the turn of the century, three-fifths of all Americans were living on farms or in rural communities. In the following 50 years, the situation has been reversed, so that today nearly 70 per cent of our people are urban dwellers.

#### **Demands Increase**

With this growth of the cities has come an entirely new set of human problems and needs for governmental services. The complex nature of urban life has necessitated an increase in the regulatory powers of government. A city which several years ago would have chaffed at the thought of prohibiting curbside parking now insists upon it.

Increased demands are made for services by government. The same town which some time back would have protested indignantly any suggestion that certain rundown sections were slums, today vigorously demands their elimination and replacement by suitable housing. Libraries, youth centers, auditoriums, parks, parking garages, marinas are just a few of the needs the American cities of today are expected to provide.

Police, fire prevention and sanitary services have become big businesses.

Demands for schools become almost overwhelming. In Florida we must build eight new classrooms every day of the year to keep up with our fast-developing school population. The need develops for colleges and then a university to serve the urban area. In Florida, we are constructing six new community colleges now and will open the doors of a brand new four-year university in 1960 on what is now raw acreage. Further, we are planning two more universities to be built from the ground up in the near future.

By the time the main streets of a major city are four-laned, they become obsolete and must be over-passed by limited-access expressways.

Hospitals and the supply of nurses apparently never can be provided fast enough to keep up with genuine needs, even though medical science is reducing daily the number of people who require hospitalization.

Such are some of the outstanding, obvious needs of our American cities. And so harried are we in seeking ways to cope with them, the less obvious go largely unattended.

Yet, as our urban life grows more complex, there are countless needs for developing bold new approaches to assuring the urban family of the opportunity for steady employment, wholesome recreation, intellectual stimulation — all that it takes to make creative and contented lives.

Just as we have agricultural extension services, so do we need to develop urban extension services to help city families cope with problems of urban life. We need to develop the means for assuring that our great technological advances become the servants of people rather than their

master; that our cities do not overwhelm and stifle their residents.

Why are the cities not meeting all these needs? As is so often the case, our political institutions have failed to keep pace with a major social change.

At the close of the 19th century, our state legislatures were dominated by rural areas and, at the time, it could be said to be a democratic situation, for our states then were largely rural. Yet, in mid-20th century, our legislative bodies still are predominantly rural-controlled and they are far from being representative of the people.

In Florida, which has a very poorly apportioned legislature, we are operating under an 1885 constitution which was written with the primary aim of ridding the state of the excesses and evils of "carpetbag rule" and to return political power to the people, who then were rural residents. Although Florida has shifted rapidly from a rural to an urban population, we still operate under the old formula, with our pine trees having far better representation than our people.

#### Proposed Constitution

In all fairness to Florida, however, I hasten to add that we are taking steps to correct this. It has been a rugged fight and one we really did not pitch into until the last three or four years. But we will place before the people in 1958 a proposed new constitution which is a vastly improved new document providing for a large measure of home rule and a new apportionment formula which, while it falls far short of the ideal, will give sub-

stantial increases in representation to those areas most in need of it.

One of the things which has spurred us to this effort is the neglect which the majority of our citizens — those who live in the cities — have received at the hands of an artificially created majority in the state legislature.

And this has been the story all across America. Out of fear of the fast emerging urban centers, rural-dominated state legislatures have been reluctant to grant home rule. Thus deprived of this means to solve their local problems locally, urban areas have then turned to their state legislatures for direct aid. When state aid is forthcoming from the legislatures, however, it frequently is loaded in favor of the sparsely populated rural sections which control the legislatures.

Thwarted once again, it is only natural that our cities have turned to Congress for relief. To a certain extent they have found it there. Congressmen have not been as unresponsive to clamorings from vote-heavy cities. The help has come from too far away, and has in fact represented encroaching federal bureaucracy, but it has been help just the same.

This is what I have referred to as pass-the-buck government. Instead of identifying each governmental problem as it arises and assigning its solution to the level of government best suited to handle it, we have been passing the buck from city to county, from county to state and from state to nation.

It is interesting to note that quite often those who shout the loudest about "federal encroachment" are the very ones who, through their own



neglect of responsibility, have left the people no place to turn for help but to Washington.

In defense of the states, though, it is not true that they have been lying down on the job. Since 1940, total state government expenditures have increased from \$5.2 billion to \$21.7 billion — 416 per cent. But as great as their efforts have been, the needs and demands for governmental services have been even greater.

One approach to the solution is, of course, to break the shackles which bind so many of our state governmental functions to outgrown patterns. This would involve, as I have indicated, remodeling archaic state constitutions, improving apportionment of state legislatures, modernizing state tax systems, granting more home rule and generally accepting more governmental responsibilities at the closest possible level of government. These are difficult things to achieve.

Even with these reforms, however, I do not see how the tremendously costly and complex needs of urban life are going to be met adequately without facing up to the biggest and most frightening reality of them all — the need to halt the headlong race toward global suicide in which we are now engaged. Recent scientific breakthroughs in the conquest of outer space should make this obvious to both East and West.

We cannot escape the fact that we can achieve neither peace abroad nor a more abundant life at home unless we find a substitute for keeping our economy and that of our allies artificially stimulated with greater and greater military investments.

If our state and local governments are to assume their full responsibilities toward their urban centers, they must be in a position to assume their full share of the cost. However, our taxpayers are carrying heavy burdens at all levels of government. For example, each year since the end of World War II the expenditures of our cities have exceeded their current revenues and we now have all-time highs in municipal indebtedness. States are having to scrape the barrel for new sources of revenues — and still are having difficulty in financing adequately the minimum services they are now providing.

Where, then, is the relief to come from?

#### **Reduce Military Spending**

The ultimate hope, I am satisfied, lies in being able to reduce the astronomical appropriations of the federal government for its military and related services, which account for almost half our total public cost — federal, state and local. And the bulk of these military expenditures is tied directly with waging the "cold war."

Every time we invest a dollar of tax money in a nonconsumer item, which is what most of the armaments items are, we take a dollar out of productive use, which gives just another twist to the inflationary spiral.

The handmaiden of inflation is a "tight money" policy and this has been one of the heaviest handicaps local and state governments have had. In Florida, for example, there are millions upon millions of dollars of badly needed public projects — roads, hospitals, schools — which have had to be shelved because of



the prohibitive rates of interest under the tight-money policy. Such a policy is defended on the grounds that it discourages expenditures and thus helps to hold inflation in check. My own feeling is that an orderly investment in needed public projects at a reasonable rate of interest is far less inflationary than the creation of great backlogs of unmet needs.

So the cold war expenditures are putting the squeeze on badly needed public projects from two directions — by running the cost of such projects out of reach of local and state governments and by siphoning off the tax dollars which otherwise would be available for these purposes.

And the worst casualties of this cold war squeeze are, of course, our urban residents. They catch it at every turn: In the inflationary cost of living pinch on salaries and other fixed incomes; in the heavy bite of the federal income tax; in the rising cost of local government as it is forced to provide more and more of its services to blighted urban areas the city cannot afford to rehabilitate; in the overcrowding of schools and shortage of teachers as localities find it harder and harder to finance vital operations.

The list could go on and on. And it will go on and on unless we make it possible for our local and state governments to undertake their full responsibilities and then to pay the cost.

There is little or no hope, as I see it, to accomplish this effectively un-

less we can find a way to redirect our national policy away from a cold war and toward a settlement of international issues. Of course, no one is suggesting that America should neglect the defenses of the free world. But our present course, which can only be described as an arms race, is temporal only.

The American people are getting a shock treatment these days, but as we come out of our lethargy we must see more than a necessity for speeding up activities to conquer space. Though most important, this program offers no real permanent defense. Even our most ardent military exponents will acknowledge that.

#### The Challenge

In the final analysis the big job, the big challenge, the big opportunity, the big victory can only come when people understand that "peace on earth" is inescapably tied to good will toward men. We are obviously headed for world suicide on the present course, but the alternative is not, as some would suggest, to withdraw into an isolationist shell and simmer in our own depression.

I do not have any easy solutions and it is not my purpose here to elaborate on this other than to state the imperative need and to relate it to the plight of the urban citizens of America.

It will, of course, take masterful and courageous leadership on our part in the field of foreign relations. And I refuse to believe America cannot produce it — before it is too late.

# One Vote, One Value

State reapportionment failure held due not alone to legislative shortcomings but to other forces as well.

By GORDON E. BAKER\*

**T**HERE are few problems that recur so persistently in state government as the apportionment of legislative representation. It is not only a seemingly perpetual problem but also one which generally becomes more rather than less acute with the passing of years.

As American society becomes increasingly urban in character, the facts of political life are conditioned by a legislative framework which more often than not embodies the rural or small town outlook of the past. Nor is the problem simply one of underrepresented urban areas. The vast population shifts within and surrounding cities have resulted in enormous distortions in the size of many urban districts.

One reason that the problem persists and increases in magnitude is obvious: generally speaking, the function of reapportioning legislative seats is allocated to those most vitally affected by any change — the state legislators themselves. In addition, the lawmakers usually have a monopoly over the initiation of constitutional changes needed in many states to satisfy the discontents with existing patterns of representation.

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A continual disregard of the basic values professed by a society usually engenders among the public a sense of frustration, cynicism or apathy. All these consequences have been characteristic of states where apportionment has been a serious problem — and there are few where it has not. With this in mind, we might first examine briefly those theories underlying the values that are so often violated.

One of the major assumptions of democratic rule is the doctrine of political equality. "One man, one vote" has been a familiar phrase concisely expressing the ideal that all citizens should have approximately the same political weight. The logical correlative, "one vote, one value," means that representative assemblies should reflect as closely as possible the makeup of the body politic. While this concept has not gone unchallenged (and is at variance increasingly with practice) it does play a central role in the development of an American theory of representation.

When this country was first settled, the apportionment of legislative seats was hardly a theory at all but rather a response to a practical situation. Thus representation in colonial America was originally based on localities regardless of their size or importance. This was a natural outgrowth of existing conditions of isolated, highly autonomous communi-

ties. Representation was often regarded as a duty rather than a right. By the time of the separation from Great Britain, however, the climate of opinion had shifted to an emphasis on the political equality of individuals, not localities. As early as 1776 the right of every town to be represented was vigorously challenged in Massachusetts. Similar protests arose in other new states.

#### Jefferson's Theories

Indicative of the growing democratic theory were the views of Thomas Jefferson, whose intense interest in the composition of state legislatures might well be ascribed to his unhappy experiences as Virginia's governor for a brief term during the Revolution. Writing in his *Notes on Virginia*, Jefferson specifically criticized the unequal apportionment of legislative seats. He proposed his own model constitution, calling for a lower house in which "the number of delegates . . . each county may send shall be in proportion to the number of its qualified electors." The Senate would also reflect an equal base, being composed of one member for each six delegates of every district. "For let it be agreed," Jefferson later concluded, "that a government is republican in proportion as every member composing it has his equal voice in the direction of its concerns . . . by representatives chosen by himself."

That these views reflected a widespread consensus during the nation's formative years is indicated by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which provided the framework for the future organization of state governments in the vast region beyond the

Appalachian Mountains. The ordinance stressed the importance of representative equality in this manner: "The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writs of habeas corpus and of the trial by jury, of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law." (Emphasis supplied.)

Throughout the 19th century, concepts of political equality gained strength. As new states were formed and as the constitutions of older ones were revised, apportionment on a population standard became widespread. Some states with large areas and few inhabitants took account of territory as well as people but these deviations were typically more a matter of convenience and simplicity than of political philosophy. Toward the end of the 19th century a distrust of growing cities resulted in restrictions on urban power in many states — often in the form of constitutional modifications. In addition, legislatures became increasingly reluctant to carry out their mandates of periodic reapportionment to accommodate population changes.

As a result, the 20th century has been the most crucial period in the development of apportionment as a problem. The gap between theory on the one hand and practice on the other has grown wider each decade. In most of the states there has been a consistent and steady deterioration of the earlier ideal of political equality. An emphasis on localities, together with legislative inaction, has always resulted in distortions from

democratic standards. In earlier days of relative simplicity and homogeneity these discrepancies were less significant. But in an era of phenomenal population change, particularly of complex metropolitan growth, there has resulted widespread dissatisfaction with existing apportionments.

The two major causes of unequal representation are restrictive constitutional provisions and legislative failure to reapportion periodically. Of the two, the latter condition arouses public discontent more readily because, in addition to the resultant political inequalities, a separate basic American political value is involved — that of constitutionalism. Even those wishing to rationalize a disproportionate rural strength are often hard put to justify a legislature's disregard of a duty clearly required by the constitution.

By this same token, once an inequitable scheme of apportionment is written into a state constitution, an added burden of proof falls on the shoulders of reformers. They must not only justify a positive plan for change but must also challenge a part of the existing legal framework. Here the villains are not fallible lawmakers, whose political sins may already be suspect, but rather the abstract "founding" or "amending" fathers of past generations.

This point is significant when one realizes that malapportionment is more often the result of constitutional restrictions than of legislative action or inaction, though in numerous states inequitable conditions can be traced to both causes. In many cases the restrictive clauses — such

as those limiting any county to but one senator or guaranteeing at least one representative to each county — are accidental remnants of apparently convenient arrangements in the 18th and 19th centuries when population was more evenly distributed. In other cases — New York State is a good example — constitutional barriers can be traced to the work of determined rural lawmakers who, while still in control, made certain that prospective majorities in the cities could never be translated into legislative majorities.

#### 'Balanced' Plans

But not all constitutional obstacles to fair apportionment are traceable to earlier establishment, whether accidental or designed. In recent years there has been a definite trend — an unfortunate one, in my opinion — toward adoption of so-called "balanced" schemes, which purport to represent people in one house and area in the other. In actual fact, however, there is no attempt in any of these states to base one house on any specific criterion of area, such as so many square miles per senator. Instead, some arbitrary basis such as county or district units is generally employed, not in order to represent areas in any positive way but rather to keep cities underrepresented. For example, New Mexico in 1949, Nevada in 1950, and Arizona in 1953, all changed their constitutions to allow each county (most of them sparsely settled) the same weight in the Senate. In the first two of these states urban areas were kept substantially underrepresented in the lower house as well.

What explains the adoption of

these retrograde steps? One reason seems to be the persuasive character of a highly misleading argument that such an arrangement parallels the pattern of the United States Congress. The term "federal plan" is often employed and "federal" is apparently a virtue-word accepted uncritically by much of the public. The suggestion that counties within a state should be regarded as states are in the union has no basis whatsoever in theory, in law or in common sense. Counties are merely creatures of the states, which by their very nature are unitary and not federal in their composition. In addition, counties seldom denote distinct communities of interest. And in many states there are numerous counties which scarcely have any justification for separate existence, much less equal representation.

Paradoxically, support for "federal" or "balanced" plans often comes from urban newspapers and certain business interests. An initiative campaign in 1948 to reform the California Senate — where Los Angeles County's five million inhabitants have the same representation as a mountainous district of under 15,000 — was doomed to defeat in the face of overwhelming opposition from the press as well as powerful financial interests.

In some cases "balanced" plans are accepted by urban leaders as the best alternative to perpetual legislative refusal to apportion either house. Obstinate lawmaking bodies can sometimes engender a "compromise" in which bargaining is hardly on an equal footing. In 1954 voters in Illinois had a choice of retaining

constitutional provisions for apportionment by population (ignored for over half a century) or of accepting an amendment that ensured an enforced reapportionment of one house on a population basis but placed permanent control of the Senate in the downstate region. The electorate chose the latter alternative. Needless to say, there was no chance to vote on a third theoretical possibility — enforcement of then existing constitutional provisions of equal representation.

#### Who Should Apportion

One final question of considerable importance deserves attention — what body should be charged with the duty of periodic reapportionment? It is an interesting commentary on the naiveté of our earlier state constitution-makers that they invariably placed the function of periodic reapportionment in the hands of those most immediately concerned — the legislators themselves. In some ways this is understandable. No other regular branch of state government would have seemed suitable. It is likely that very few persons could visualize the struggles that would take place later. In the rural and small town society of the 19th century, the matter of legislative apportionment seemed to pose no crucial problem in most states. Indeed, legislative failure to reapportion in state after state can usually be traced to the time when urban growth became a significant factor, generally speaking, at some point in the 20th century.

In any case, there are few today who are optimistic about a legislature's ability to reapportion in a fair

manner. Even if we completely disregard the typical urban-rural conflict, there are any number of personal, partisan and sectional jealousies not easily reconciled. Actually, it is hardly fair to the legislature that it must pass judgment on the political futures of many of its own members. Perhaps it is asking too much of human nature to expect any better results than we have obtained.

But the fact remains that, unless constitutions specify otherwise, apportionment is clearly established as a legislative function. It has sometimes even been termed "intrinsically" or "inherently" legislative by courts eager to escape the political thickets of controversies over apportionment. Yet the judges have found no way of forcing legislators to perform their duties, however specifically required by constitutions.

Even though reluctant or unable to perform their designated responsibilities of reapportionment, state legislators usually become jealous of their prerogatives when it is suggested that some other group be given the job. And if some other group actually undertakes the function, the lawmakers become extremely upset. When the League of Women Voters in Washington State sponsored a successful initiative campaign for reapportionment in 1956, the legislature proceeded to tie up the entire session of 1957 seeking a way to circumvent an impartial and objective districting approved by the electorate. Under a new power allowing the amending of initiatives by a two-thirds vote of both houses, the lawmakers finally passed an "amendment" which restored most former

districts. As this article goes to press, the State Supreme Court has decided the "amendment" is valid.

This, however, does suggest one of the most promising methods of securing fair apportionments. While the initiative is available in only a minority of states, it is a sizable minority — nineteen out of 48. Wherever it is available, interested reform groups should consider the feasibility of using this direct method of accomplishing reapportionment. It should be emphasized that the initiative has been used successfully for this purpose in several states already — Washington in 1930 and 1956, Oregon in 1952, Colorado in 1932 and Arkansas in 1936.

#### Citizen Action

Experience in these states — as well as the negative result in California in 1948 — suggests that the success of reapportionment by initiative depends on such conditions as a broad base of support, bipartisanism and endorsement by metropolitan newspapers. Of particular value is the work of an organization such as the League of Women Voters, active in the Oregon initiative campaign of 1952 as well as in the Washington episode mentioned earlier. In addition to innumerable hours of work spent in collecting signatures, making public speeches and even assisting in the drafting of the legislation, the league provided something else — the prestige of a nonpartisan group whose political virtues are unassailable.

In addition to the initiative, there are other methods of apportionment outside the legislature. In a few

(Continued on page 50)



# News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

## Oklahoma Group Probes Government

### Citizens Recommend State, Local Changes

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Oklahoma Conference on State Government, held at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, November 7-9, was another in the series of such conferences<sup>1</sup> sponsored in part by the American Assembly, associated with Columbia University. The University of Oklahoma was the other sponsor of this conference, in which 45 leaders in business, education, labor, agriculture, the professions, etc., participated. Its purpose was to examine the adequacy of state and local government in Oklahoma. The following final report represents general but not necessarily complete agreement on the part of the conferees.

#### The Legislative Branch

**B**ECAUSE in the legislature is vested not only the power to make law but the right to exercise general supervision over the operations of government, steps should be taken to strengthen this branch of state government. In order to achieve this end it was proposed:

1. That legislative membership be apportioned as now required by the state constitution, and that steps be taken to force reapportionment after each decennial census as required by the constitution, and that a proposal be initiated amending the constitution providing that in the event the legislature does not reapportion it shall become the duty of an administrative official or a group of administrative officials (a strong minority dissented and proposed that the Senate

be reapportioned on an area-population basis);

2. That the legislature be authorized to meet annually;

3. That the bicameral legislature be retained (although a strong minority seemed to favor the unicameral form);

4. That the compensation and perquisites of legislators be increased to continue to encourage good men to take time from their business and occupations to serve;

5. That the legislature be authorized to call itself into special session for limited reasons;

6. That since legislative bodies, generally, have not always performed well as general supervisors of governmental operations it is recommended that they be provided with more staff aids, particularly with a well equipped office of legislative audit.

#### The Executive Branch

In order to fix clear lines of responsibility and to enhance the efficiency of administration, the following proposals, respecting the executive branch of state government, were made:

1. That the long ballot be greatly reduced (some would continue to elect one or two executive officers such as the examiner and inspector in addition to the governor);

2. That the numerous boards, commissions and other agencies be placed in a limited number of administrative departments, except certain agencies performing quasi-judicial or regulatory functions;

3. That heads of these departments be appointed by the governor with the approval of the Senate;

4. That heads of departments may be removed by the governor without the consent of the Senate, except in the case

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, July 1956, page 340; September 1956, page 387; November 1956, page 496; January 1957, page 29.

of the regulatory or quasi-judicial agencies in which case removal could be only by cause;

5. That employees of the several departments below the policy-making level be recruited and retained on a merit basis only;

6. That the four-year term of the governor be retained and that he be allowed to succeed himself at least once, some delegates proposing that no limit be placed upon his right to succeed himself;

7. That the office of lieutenant governor be enhanced or another method for gubernatorial succession be provided.

### **The Judicial Branch**

In order to simplify the structure of the courts, create a unified judicial system and raise the quality of judicial personnel, it is proposed:

1. That a general reorganization of the state judicial structure is needed to eliminate conflicting jurisdictions and to integrate and equalize the work load of the courts in the state. A majority favored elimination of the justice of peace courts and the substitution of a suitable court of first instance;

2. That a court administrator, under general supervision of the Supreme Court, be provided;

3. That the fee as a form of compensation for judges be abolished;

4. That the Missouri plan for appointment of judges be adopted, which provides that the governor shall appoint from a list submitted by nominating committees and later submission to a referendum, and that the term of judges be increased.

### **Local Government**

In order to strengthen local government and to promote and sustain the advantages of home rule the conference agreed:

1. That optional forms of county government be established by law, any one

of which may be adopted by the voters of the counties;

2. That provisions for consolidation of counties be liberalized in order to make voluntary consolidation of counties less difficult;

3. That county commissioners be nominated by districts and elected at large, and that they have appointive power over administrative officials with certain exceptions (the sheriff, county judge and county attorney were suggested as exceptions);

4. That district supervision of country road construction should be eliminated and replaced by county-wide administration;

5. That as cities are expected to provide an increasing number of services, they be provided with a greater share of the tax dollar and a broader tax base;

6. That the opportunity for county-city consolidation in a metropolitan area should be provided by statute;

7. That functional cooperation between city and county governments should be encouraged.

### **Parties**

1. . . . The promotion of the present minority party to the status of a genuine, all-round competitor to the major party was regarded as outside the pale of legislative or constitutional reform;

2. Primary runoff contests are expensive for candidates and divisive of party organization. However, election by mere plurality does not serve representative government, especially in a one-party state. A preferential primary (in which the voter ranks candidates in the order of his preference) was considered as a possible alternative to runoffs;

3. No strong sentiment exists for a pre-convention primary, for cross-filing by candidates or open primaries for voters;

4. A filing fee should be required of every candidate, and these fees would be returned to any candidate who wins more

than a nominal percentage (e.g. 5 per cent of the vote); such a fee would discourage frivolous, irresponsible and "famous name" candidates;

5. Whether there should be limitations on amount of campaign expenditures was a matter of sharp disagreement. It was generally recognized that practicable and realistic limits are difficult to set. It was widely agreed that strict and vigilant pre-primary as well as post-primary publicity should be given to the amount of and sources of all contributions;

6. Oklahoma should establish non-partisan ballots for election of county and municipal offices (strong minority dissented).

#### **State Finance**

In order to provide a sound financial system for the state the conference agrees:

1. That constitutional earmarking of funds is bad in principle; but that conditions now prevailing in Oklahoma may justify its use in a limited number of instances;

2. That the group registered approval of the budget balancing amendment and favored proposals to insure its enforcement;

3. That a thorough study of the entire tax structure of the state be made by the legislature with particular attention to modification of the homestead exemption and broadening the tax base of municipalities;

4. That the present budgetary system of Oklahoma is satisfactory, but the budget director should be given increased power in order to strengthen enforcement of its provisions. He should not, however, restrict department heads' authority too narrowly;

5. That there should be established a state authority to supervise assessments in the state.

#### **The Constitution**

The conference agrees that the present Oklahoma constitution, as written and

amended, is inadequate as an instrument of effective government, and proposes:

1. That a thorough revision of the constitution is needed at this time;

2. That a constitutional study commission be appointed, to be composed of all major interests in the state, geographical and functional, and that it draft a "Model Constitution" to be offered either to a constitutional convention for its deliberations or directly for the people's consideration at a referendum;

3. That among the specific revisions most needed are those proposed in the earlier sections of this report on the legislative, executive and judicial branches, local government and finances.

4. That constitutional reform will require vigorous, statewide informational and educational campaigns.

#### **Seven States Eschew**

##### **U. S. Aid for Urban Renewal**

The following seven states still do not allow cities to participate in the federal urban renewal and redevelopment program, according to the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials: Idaho, Mississippi, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming. Four states—Iowa, Oklahoma, Utah and Wyoming—have no enabling laws permitting their cities to receive federal aid for public housing.

#### **Federal-State Committee**

##### **Proposes Functional Changes**

The Joint Federal-State Action Committee, established at the suggestion of President Eisenhower at the Governors' Conference last June, to consider areas where the federal and state governments could transfer functions and responsibilities, held meetings in August, October and November and has more or less tentatively recommended various transfers of functions and of some minor tax sources.

The committee includes the governors

of Idaho, Illinois, Maryland, Mississippi, Kansas, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Texas; also, from the federal government the secretaries of the treasury, labor, and health, education and welfare, the director of the budget, the civil defense administrator and three assistants to the president. Co-chairmen are Robert B. Anderson, secretary of the treasury, and Lane Dwinell, governor of New Hampshire.

Recommendations are reported to include:

Assumption by the state and local governments of financial responsibility for the older federally aided vocational education programs, such as agriculture and home economics, and also for the newer practical nursing and fishery programs;

No state to apply to the federal government for disaster relief until it had spent from \$250,000 to \$3,000,000, depending on the economic condition of the state—it was estimated that these minimums would eliminate about 60 per cent of such applications by states;

The states to assume full responsibility for aid to municipalities in the construction of sewage treatment facilities;

The states to take over gradually the federal program of grants for advance planning of urban renewal projects;

As to taxes, it was recommended that the 10 per cent federal tax on local telephone service be changed to allow a 4 per cent credit for any state taxing to that level. The committee approved in principle the relinquishment or reduction, by the federal government, of taxes on admissions, amusements and safe deposit boxes. It indicated that such taxes are better suited for local than for state use, and that federal withdrawal from some of these taxes should bear a relationship to the assumption of additional functions by state and local governments. A special technical committee was instructed to draft specific proposals for assigning

a greater share of the federal estate tax to state governments.

*Municipal News*, published by the U. S. Conference of Mayors, remarked after the second meeting, "While most of Washington does not take too seriously the recommendations that are seeping forth from the Joint Federal-State Action Committee, it is an activity on the national front that must be watched carefully. They could strike fire with the Congress with disastrous results to cities throughout the country."

### ***Ohio Voters Mixed Up On Residence Requirements***

Two proposed amendments to the Ohio constitution dealing with residence requirements were given contrasting receptions by the Buckeye State's voters November 5.

One amendment, making it possible for newcomers in Ohio to vote in presidential elections even though not residents of the state long enough to qualify as electors, received a decisive 5-3 approval, the vote being 1,070,301 to 659,946.

A second amendment, to make possible appointment of non-residents to state offices, was defeated, however, the vote being just about the reverse of the first: for, 696,513; against, 1,040,216.

Curiously, there was little or no official support for the voting amendment, approved, while the appointing amendment, defeated, had the backing of the state administration and a goodly segment of the press. The latter circumstance stemmed from events a year ago when Governor William O'Neill took office.

At that time, in a move to expedite the state's lagging expressway and interstate highways program, O'Neill induced Charles Noble, director of New Jersey's turnpike operations, to accept the post of state highways director. After the appointment was announced, the governor learned it was barred by the constitution.

He thereupon appealed to the legislature to submit an amendment relieving the situation.

Voters apparently were unimpressed by his request, possibly because the governor meanwhile had found a subterfuge to accommodate his need; he employed Mr. Noble as a secretary to the governor at a salary of \$30,000 (the governor's pay is \$25,000). The appointment has been repeatedly attacked in the courts but jurists so far have been able to dispose of the attacks without ruling on the residence issue involved.

After January 15, Mr. Noble will have satisfied the constitution's residence provision and the immediate issue will become moot.

FOREST FRANK

Cincinnati City Charter Committee

### ***States Consider Carry-Over System for Legislative Bills***

In order to mitigate the end-of-session "log jam" of bills, and to aid the legislative process in other ways, several state legislatures employ or are considering a "carry-over" system, similar to that used by the United States Congress, under which bills still on the calendar at the end of the first regular session of a legislative term will carry over to the next regular session without the need for reintroduction. The Council of State Governments has found that "there are indications that such a system could result in appreciable savings in printing costs, economies in time of bill drafters and other staff, and some saving in committee time and energies as regards those bills which have cleared some but not all legislative hurdles when the first session adjourns."

The carry-over system is in use in Georgia, South Carolina and Puerto Rico. Approximately 20 to 25 per cent of bills and resolutions are carried over from the first to second session in Georgia. (In Massachusetts, where the carry-

over system does not exist, "repeater" bills account for 20 to 25 per cent of total bills filed.)

Carry-over proposals have been under consideration in Arizona, Michigan and New Jersey.

### ***Unfair Districting Fought in Minnesota***

Another attempt to secure fair redistricting of legislative seats by way of the courts was begun in November in Minnesota by Daniel B. Magraw and others, with a complaint in the United States District Court against the secretary of state of Minnesota and certain county auditors who conduct elections.

The complaint recites that the redistricting of legislative seats in both houses has been neglected by the legislature of Minnesota since 1913, resulting in such wide discrepancies in the powers of voters that Senate districts vary from 16,878 to 153,455 population or in votes cast from 5,018 to 65,974. The House of Representatives district populations vary from 7,290 to 107,246. And less than one-third of the population now elects a majority in both houses.

The legislature has thus failed to obey the Minnesota constitution which calls for apportionment "equally throughout the different sections of the state in proportion of the population thereof," as well as Article 14 of the United States constitution, which requires that no state shall "deny to any persons within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The relief asked for is that the courts shall forbid the administrative officers in charge of the conduct of Minnesota elections from holding any election for legislators in the existing legislative districts, but shall provide election at large of the 67 members of the Senate and the 131 members of the House.

An attempt by the defendants to have the case dismissed was denied in Novem-

ber and hearing is expected to be held early this year. R.S.C.

### ***Lower Courts and J. P.s Scrutinized in 5 States***

The lower court systems, and particularly justices of the peace, in five states have recently been investigated or changed, according to the *Journal of the American Judicature Society*.

In Minnesota a fifteen-member interim commission created by the 1957 legislature is studying municipal, juvenile, probate and justice of the peace courts with the purpose of recommending legislation for their improvement. The commission consists of five senators, five representatives and five members appointed by the State Supreme Court.

The Judicial Council of New Hampshire in its sixth report, published in 1957, recommended that both the civil and the criminal jurisdiction of justices of the peace should be abolished. There are 2,400 J. P.s still in office, but with chiefly ministerial powers.

Justices of the peace in Michigan are under the scrutiny of a special committee appointed by the legislature. Replacement or drastic changes are indicated for the state's system, now 135 years old.

The Colorado Bar Association has a justice of the peace survey committee, the chairman of which has announced that the J. P. system is in complete disrepute and that some justices cannot even read or write.

In Ohio the 1957 legislature replaced the justices of the peace by a minor county court system. On November 5 the new judges were elected for one-year terms and in 1958 another election, for four-year terms, will be held. After 1962, candidates must be practicing attorneys or incumbent judges. The judges will receive a maximum of \$4,000 per annum and will be permitted to practice law in cases not involving their courts.

### **Council-Manager Plan Developments**

WINDSOR, ONTARIO, CANADA, (1951 population 120,049) has adopted the council-manager plan, to go into effect January 1, 1959.

HILLSDALE, MICHIGAN, (1950 population 7,297) adopted the council-manager plan at a special election November 19 by a vote of 1,072 to 408. The plan will take effect January 28 of this year.

ANACORTES, WASHINGTON, (1950 population 6,919) adopted the state's optional council-manager law on December 3 by a vote of 1,253 to 1,008. The new government will go into effect January 21.

The city council of ARCATA, CALIFORNIA, (1953 population 4,057) adopted an ordinance on November 25 providing for the council-manager plan.

FULTON, KENTUCKY, (1950 population 3,224) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 350 to 244 on November 5. The plan does not take effect until January 1, 1962, when the terms of the newly elected mayor and council expire.

The International City Managers' Association reports the following additions to its list of council-manager places not previously mentioned here: SILVER CITY, NEW MEXICO, (7,022); MOUNT PLEASANT, TENNESSEE, (2,931); and TWINSBURG, OHIO, (1200).

The charter commission of the town of BARRINGTON, RHODE ISLAND, voted on October 28 to draft a council-manager charter. The town meeting is expected to be preserved.

In OGDENSBURG, NEW YORK, a special committee headed by Alderman Lawrence Rabin reported to the city council on October 16 that adoption of the council-manager plan would be expensive and was not warranted at this time.

CLARKSVILLE, VIRGINIA, defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 239 to 130 on November 5. It now has the mayor-council plan.



WEST MIAMI, FLORIDA, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on November 19 by a vote of 954 to 263. Only 1,217 of the 3,032 registered voters participated.

At a special election in LAKE CITY, FLORIDA, a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan was defeated by a vote of 1,142 to 530. About 42 per cent of the electorate participated. Lake City has a mayor-commission form of government.

CHILLICOTHE, OHIO, elected a council-manager charter commission in November.

In MOUND, MINNESOTA, voters sustained their council-manager plan of government, as against a proposed mayor-council plan, 476 to 341.

GLENDALE, ARIZONA, adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 236 to 64 last April. It has had the manager plan by ordinance since 1948.

### ***No Fixed Term for Pa. Borough Secretaries***

The 1957 Pennsylvania legislature eliminated a legal provision that every borough council elect a secretary biennially at the time of a new council's organization. Borough secretaries are now to be appointed by the council for an indefinite term, at the pleasure of the council. A similar change was made as to borough treasurers.

### ***New Municipal Officials Aided in New Jersey***

New Jersey's first conference designed to assist newly elected members of municipal governing bodies in learning the fundamentals of their offices was held at Rutgers, the State University, on December 7, 1957. The one-day conference was sponsored by the Bureau of Government Research and University Extension Division of the State University in cooperation with the New Jersey State

League of Municipalities. Response to the conference was excellent—a registration of 131 persons from fourteen counties.

Two members of the Rutgers University faculty discussed basic topics in the field of municipal government. Benjamin Baker, associate professor of political science, spoke on the changing concepts of municipal autonomy in the United States. A brief historical background and description of the forms of municipal organization in New Jersey was developed by Stanley H. Friedelbaum, assistant research specialist in the Bureau of Government Research.

Possible problem areas that might affect new members when they enter the duties of their offices were discussed by two experienced members of municipal governing bodies. George S. Odiorne, township committeeman from Bridgewater Township, offered some basic facts of municipal life. He cautioned the newly elected officials to remember that their principal function is to form municipal policy and they should not lose themselves in administrative details. Mayor Thomas T. Taber of Madison Borough presented suggestions on how to participate in council meetings. He advised new councilmen to be well prepared on municipal affairs before they speak at council meetings. The need for a municipal manual or councilman's guide also was emphasized.

George C. Skillman, director of the Division of Local Government, Edward W. Kilpatrick, director of Business Service, Department of Education, and Jesse B. Aronson, director of the Division of Local Health Services, spoke on the state-local relationships involved in their respective departmental programs.

A brief outline of the functions of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities was presented by Robert H. Fust, executive director. He concluded the conference with a discussion indicating

(Continued on page 42)

**Metropolitan Government***Edited by William N. Cassella, Jr.,  
and Victor Jones*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Beginning with the November 1957 issue of the REVIEW, news developments in metropolitan areas will be covered in a new department entitled METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT. The COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP department has been discontinued. News notes on urban counties, because of their significance in metropolitan areas, will be included in the new department. Whenever there is news of rural counties and townships it will be carried separately. Other departments in the REVIEW will continue to carry notes on metropolitan matters when appropriate.

## Jefferson Parish Approves Charter

### New Orleans Suburb Gets Home Rule Plan

THE voters of Jefferson Parish (county), Louisiana, in the rapidly growing New Orleans metropolitan area, approved a home rule charter at the November 1957 election. The elected president-council form was selected in preference to the council-manager form or the existing police-jury system in a parish-wide election.

The election resulted from the work of the Jefferson Parish Charter Commission, which recommended alternative plans of government to the voters. Both were identical in almost every respect. The difference between the two was whether the chief executive was to be an appointed or elected officer. The latter form won by a clear majority. The final vote was 17,337 for council-president, 13,949 for council-manager, and 2,408 for retaining the existing police-jury form of government.

Nomination and election of officials to the president and council posts will take place in primary and general elections in 1957 and early 1958.

This election culminated eight years of effort during which an almost unbelievable number of political, legislative, legal, judicial and financial hurdles had to be overcome.

The first serious discussions concerning a new form of government took place in 1949. A referendum was held in the spring of 1950 to determine whether the people were in favor of changing from a police-jury system to a commission-council form of government. The vote was 8,687 to 485 in favor of a change. A bill providing for such a government was introduced in the state legislature the same year. It passed the House but was killed in the Senate.

In 1952, another bill was introduced calling for a commission form of government with five commissioners, one to be elected at large and one from each of four districts. This bill passed the legislature unanimously but, before becoming effective, had to be approved by the people of the parish at an election held in November of that year. The bill was overwhelmingly approved, 17,368 to 3,834.

Under the terms of the statute, the primary election for the five commissioners took place in January 1956. A run-off election was held the following March. Four members of the outgoing police-jury filed suit in the district court asking that the legislative statute which had authorized the commission form of government be declared unconstitutional. The court dismissed the suit but an appeal was taken to the State Supreme Court. On June 1, 1956, the Supreme Court declared the statute "unconstitutional, null and void in its entirety." The police jury remained in office as the *de facto* government of the parish.

Following this reversal, the proponents of a new form of government for Jeffer-

son Parish again appealed to the legislature, this time for a constitutional amendment. Finally the legislature passed a proposed amendment which created a fifteen-member charter commission. The proposal empowered the commission to prepare a single plan or alternative plans of government for the parish and for districts within the parish, and to submit its plan to the electorate.

The amendment was approved by the voters of the state in November 1956 by 185,713 to 151,255. The vote in Jefferson Parish was 20,708 to 9,712.

With nine months to complete its work, the charter commission engaged Public Administration Service of Chicago for technical assistance. Robert D. Stover of PAS served as consultant and staff director.

#### **Court Action Brought**

On March 19, a suit seeking a declaratory judgment on the legality of one of the appointments to the commission was filed in the district court. In June, the district court declared the amendment creating the charter committee unconstitutional. The decision was appealed to the State Supreme Court. The district court granted a suspensive appeal on its ruling, which permitted the commission to continue its work until the Supreme Court ruled on the district court's decision.

Still another roadblock was thrown in the commission's way. On June 26, the police jury voted to cancel its \$25,000 appropriation on the basis of the court's ruling that the commission was unconstitutional. Faced without funds to continue its work, and with a cloud of illegality hanging over its head, a determined commission launched a public fund raising campaign and collected \$7,000 to continue its work.

The charter commission's work was completed in September 1957. The police jury was by law responsible for elec-

tion arrangements and it took a court order and threats of contempt proceedings to force certain members of the police jury to call the election.

On October 25, eleven days prior to the election, the State Supreme Court reversed the district court and upheld the validity of the amendment creating the charter commission.

The president-council form of government provides for a president to be elected at large and a seven-member council elected as follows: one from each of four districts, one from combined districts 1 and 2, one from combined districts 3 and 4, and one from the parish at large. Each voter in the parish, therefore, will vote for the parish president and for three members of the council. The pay of councilmen is set at \$5,000 per annum, with the councilman elected at large receiving \$7,500. He will be chairman of the council.

The salary of the parish president is initially set at \$15,000 but may be changed by the council. The parish president is not a member of the council, is not given power by the charter to participate in its proceedings and does not have veto power over the council's actions.

The charter provides that the council shall be the legislative and policy-making body of the parish and the parish president shall be the chief administrative officer. It provides for centralization of governmental functions under the council and the parish president. All departments, agencies, offices and special districts are under the jurisdiction of the council and president with the exception of the school board and the offices of sheriff, clerk of the district court and tax assessor, which are specifically excluded by the terms of the constitutional amendment which created the commission.

Finance sections of the charter provide for developing a comprehensive operating and capital budget, a central accounting system, a system of treasury

management, purchasing procedures and for post-audits of all parish accounts.

The personnel sections call for a personnel director and a policy-making and quasi-judicial personnel board. These sections require all parish personnel to be selected on a merit basis as determined by competitive examinations, and that standard classification and salary plans be developed. The personnel director is appointed by the board.

The planning sections call for the preparation of a master plan for the social, economic and physical development of the parish including zoning, subdivision and other regulations.

The new government is scheduled to become fully effective in the early part of 1958 provided, of course, further legal obstacles are not encountered.

VAL C. MOGENSEN,  
*Executive Director*

New Orleans Bureau of  
Governmental Research

## **Kansas City Group Studies Two Areas**

Under a matching grant of \$150,000 from the Ford Foundation, Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri, has undertaken a three-year study of two metropolitan areas, Kansas City and Peoria, Illinois. The grant was made to Community Studies as the research arm of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council of Kansas City. Cliff J. Kaney, president of the council, announced the grant on July 1, 1957. Matching funds for the first year have been contributed by the Kansas City Association of Trusts and Foundations and by the Forest Park Foundation in Peoria. The remainder will come from local governmental units, business and industry.

Although 350 miles apart, the studies in both the Kansas City and Peoria areas have the same research design, but implementation of the findings may vary

somewhat. In general, the work now under way is focused on two functional areas—first, that of physical planning, which involves development of a master plan of land use for the two metropolitan areas, and second, that of governmental services, in which a study is being made to determine the extent to which services can be provided more economically on a more unified basis than exists. Further studies are projected which will have bearing on implementation of the findings. Dr. W. D. Bryant, executive director of Community Studies, will be involved in all phases of the studies. David Runnells and Wilford Winholtz are directing the physical planning aspects of the study in Kansas City and Peoria, respectively. Harold Gordon is in charge of the governmental studies section.

The Kansas City metropolitan area contains a resident population of approximately 900,000 persons, living in 79 municipalities, six counties and two states. Local interest in metropolitan area planning and function operation has been developing steadily in that city in recent years. Most of the planning agencies in the area have been aware of the importance of urban center planning, and they have attempted to relate their segmental plans to the over-all circumstances and needs. But their efforts have of necessity been confined to the limits set up by the legal boundaries of the governmental units which have set them in operation. Furthermore, they have been hampered by the absence of a satisfactory implementing agency whose function was development of the entire urban center.

The Peoria area is somewhat smaller in population than the Kansas City area, but its planning problems are especially intensified because of its fractionated government and almost total absence of planning. The city and region, however, are aware of this deficiency and are embracing metropolitan planning with great enthusiasm. The *Peoria Journal Star* has given full support to the project.

A prime mover in the metropolitan approach is the managing editor of the *Kansas City Star*, Roy Roberts. Over a period of years the *Star* has run feature stories and editorials on Kansas City's need for metropolitan area planning. Largely at Mr. Robert's request, the original Citizens Regional Planning Council was created and more recently he was the initiator of its newly formed successor, the Metropolitan Area Planning Council. The Citizens Regional Planning Council did much to further the interest of local citizens but it was not provided with research and planning staff and was never in a position to undertake or foster urban center planning.

#### **Community Studies Formed**

This need for research and planning assistance was noted by the Kansas City Association of Trusts and Foundations and in 1949 this foundation, under the directorship of Homer C. Wadsworth, fostered and financed a nonprofit research organization, incorporated as Community Studies, to do research and planning in the social sciences with major emphasis on the metropolitan area of Kansas City. During the past eight years, Community Studies has completed over 150 studies in the fields of health and hospitals, social agencies and child welfare, administration and planning, population and housing, education, recreation, and occupation groups. Community Studies has a current staff of 85 persons working on its various research projects. Approximately half the staff members are professional research specialists in the various social sciences.

Aerial photographs of the counties have been taken and land-use maps are being prepared. Also in preparation is a base map encompassing the entire area, showing the cultural features such as streets, roads, railroads and drainage. An economic base study and detailed population studies are in progress. A study of the various municipal services is being made

to determine whether municipal services can actually be provided more economically on a regional basis than as now provided by each of the various political subdivisions. Each service is being surveyed in turn, such as health services, police and fire protection, water supply, to determine what it is costing each area to provide these services individually. A standard of adequacy will then be developed for each service and a determination made of the cost of bringing the service up to the standard. Finally, an estimate will be made of the cost of providing each service if it were done on a more unified basis. It is likely that in some cases lower costs can be obtained without any radical departure from the existing plan. The data secured from these cost studies will be used in setting up a master plan for the most feasible operation of each service.

A series of studies has been designed to discover the ways in which a proper climate may be developed for metropolitan area action. These will include a leadership study in which past and on-going community projects will be analyzed to define the kinds of leadership that function when various kinds of community projects are attempted. Areas of inadequate leadership will be studied to learn how these deficits can be alleviated. Attitudes of various publics toward the urban center approach will be analyzed to uncover where the most active opposition would be found as it would apply to kinds of services and geographic and political subdivisions, and whether people place a high premium on low cost of service as against the possible relinquishment of local control of the services.

It will be the function of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council in Kansas City and the Central Illinois Planning Corporation in Peoria to develop, from the study findings, programs of action leading to attainment of the desig-

nated goals as set up by each major plan as it emerges from the research and planning stage.

W. D. BRYANT, *Executive Director*  
Community Studies, Inc.

### ***New Flint Plan Progresses***

On November 26, the Flint Area Study unanimously voted to recommend the New Flint plan with accompanying proposals for a single school district, county-wide planning and county-wide reassessment.<sup>1</sup> By this action, Dr. Basil Zimmer's study and conclusions, compiled and written for FAS, became the study group's official recommendation to public authorities in the Flint metropolitan area.

The last official act of the study group before disbanding was to authorize the setting up of an autonomous six-member action committee to start the ball rolling toward adoption of the recommendation. Sources in Flint report that committee personnel will be named and that several thousand persons will be involved in the ensuing campaign.

### ***Milwaukee Study Commission Appointed by Governor***

The fifteen-member Milwaukee Metropolitan Study Commission<sup>2</sup> has been appointed by the governor of Wisconsin with John C. Lobb, Milwaukee banker and resident of suburban Shorewood, named as chairman. Dr. George A. Parkinson, vice provost of the University of Wisconsin's Milwaukee campus and the representative of the city of Milwaukee on the commission, was designated as vice chairman at the commission's first meeting October 15. Nine members of the commission are from the suburbs

and six from the central city. The statute setting up the commission requires that it report to both the 1959 and 1961 sessions of the legislature.

### ***Toledo Adopts Annexation Amendment***

Toledo, Ohio, by a vote of 39,823 to 38,675 on November 5, adopted a charter amendment that permits territory in adjoining townships to be annexed to the city but to remain in a township school district; city property tax rates would be adjusted accordingly. A court test of the plan has been intimated.

H.M.O

### ***Launch Campaign for New Allegheny County Charter***

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) has launched a campaign for adoption of a federated-city type charter for the county, using a special provision of the Pennsylvania constitution applicable to Allegheny County alone.

Citizen committees are being organized in each of the seventeen legislative districts in the county and conferences held with the legislators to pave the way for introduction of a charter bill in 1959. The charter later would go to a referendum in the county.

A draft charter, including alternative clauses on key issues, is to be prepared by a commission of experts drawn from law school and political science faculties. The draft is to be based on the 1955 report of The Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County and will serve as a study resource for the League of Women Voters of Pittsburgh and other groups considering the area's need for a metropolitan government. The Toronto metropolitan government and the new Miami-Dade County Charter, as well as the National Municipal League's *Model County Charter*, are being used as guides.

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, December 1957, page 585.

<sup>2</sup> See the REVIEW, November 1957, page 531.



Allegheny County, which includes Pittsburgh and 128 other cities, boroughs and townships, long has suffered from fragmented government. In 1929, a referendum on a county charter produced a 68 per cent favorable vote, but a "joker" clause in the state constitution defeated the measure. With the "joker" removed in 1933, two subsequent attempts to get a charter bill through the legislature were thwarted in 1935 and 1939.

The Civic Club, which has been active in all the previous campaigns, believes the chances for success are brighter now because of the state legislature's recent recognition of urban problems as evidenced by the home rule powers granted to Philadelphia and the optional charter system adopted in 1957 for the state's smaller (third class) cities.

In addition to "grass roots" work in the legislative districts, the Civic Club has organized a speakers bureau and is mobilizing suburban and central city citizens organizations for a concerted community effort over the next two years.

J. STEELE GOW, JR.  
Civic Club of Allegheny County

### ***Two Study Groups Set Up in Minnesota***

The 1957 Minnesota legislature created a county governmental study commission in Ramsey County (St. Paul). In addition to two members of the Senate and two members of the House delegation from the county, the commission includes representatives from the city and county governments, the school districts, the smaller municipal units in the county and each of the municipal corporations and special districts having a function within the county.

The commission will study "possible consolidation of some city and county functions." The county will appropriate \$30,000 over a two-year period to finance the study.

In another action, the Minnesota legislature set up a ten-member interim commission to study annexation and incorporation laws of cities and villages as well as laws granting special powers to urban towns. This commission will attack a number of problems sorely needing attention in most states faced with rapid population growth and spreading urbanization. Among other matters the commission will report on minimum population and territorial requirements for incorporations and annexations, statutory procedures for both, the need for an impartial administrative review of local boundary changes, participation of neighboring units in the proceedings, and the need for a separate statutory class of urban city. An appropriation of \$20,000 has been made to finance this study.

### ***Broome County Defeats Elected Executive Plan***

The voters of Broome County (Binghamton metropolitan area), New York, turned down a proposed change in the organization of the county government at the November 5 election. The county president plan for an elected county executive, available under the alternative county government law enacted in 1952, was rejected by a vote of 28,426 to 15,098. The proposition lost both in the city of Binghamton (7,676 yes, 11,222 no) and in the surrounding towns (7,422 yes, 17,204 no).

### ***Name Change***

Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems (MAP) is the new name for the Continuing National Conference on Metropolitan Problems. George H. Deming is director of the conference, whose address is 22 West 55th Street, New York 19.

**Proportional Representation***Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.,  
and Wm. Redin Woodward**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)*

## Worcester Holds 5th P. R. Election

### Council, School Committee Chosen in Record Count

WORCESTER, Massachusetts, New England's third city, (1950 population 203,486) held its fifth biennial proportional representation election on November 5. Approximately 59,000 valid ballots were cast for 27 city council candidates and 59,300 for twelve school committee candidates. Counting was completed in record time under the able direction of George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the Citizens Union of New York City. Election of the ninth and final member of the city council was announced during the evening of the second counting day, and of the sixth and last elected school committeeman early Saturday afternoon, the fourth day. A recount of city council ballots, Worcester's first, requested on behalf of a candidate defeated by four votes on the nineteenth transfer, was completed in two days with no change in election results.

Five of the nine council candidates endorsed by the Citizens Plan E Association<sup>1</sup> were elected, as were four of its six endorsees for the school committee. A so-called "independent" city council slate included two winners, one of whom appears to have been elected because of the popularity of his "reduce taxes" slogan. Six of the eight incum-

bent city council candidates were re-elected, as were three of five school committeemen seeking reelection. The new council has two Republican members and seven Democratic, some of whom are loosely affiliated with that party. This composition reasonably reflects the political preferences of Worcester voters, although many voters completely disregarded party affiliations in voting the nonpartisan ballot. Many informed observers are of the opinion that more vigorous campaigning would have resulted in the election of at least one additional Republican.

The first business of the new council upon taking office in January is the election of a mayor from its membership. The mayor so chosen will also serve as chairman of the school committee and as its seventh member. With the exception of the Poles, no large ethnic group residing in Worcester failed to obtain representation either on the city council or on the school committee.

The recount of city council ballots was a great personal triumph for Dr. Hallett, who, on the basis of an examination of some of the ballots made at the request of the candidate who later demanded the recount, predicted its results with uncanny accuracy. The recount, starting with restoration of all ballots to their first choices, was closely observed by the contesting candidate, his representatives and several individuals prominently associated with the opposition to P. R. No changes of consequence resulted, except that the candidate in question was defeated on the twentieth rather than the nineteenth transfer. There was general agreement among the counters that the recount, instead of discrediting P. R. as its opponents had hoped, demonstrated its accuracy and equity.

<sup>1</sup> The citizen organization originally formed to secure the council-manager plan with P. R. (Plan E under Massachusetts law) for Worcester and continued for the purpose of maintaining citizen interest in the city government and electing representative city officials of proper calibre.

Worcester's newspapers supported P. R. editorially during the count and recount as a few headlines will indicate: "The P. R. Ballot Was No Mystery," which featured the fact that less than 5 per cent of the ballots cast were improperly marked, "Charters and P. R. Meet the Test," "Plan E Count Is Smooth Operation," "A Plan E Election Is Confirmed," which stressed that only a few minor errors were disclosed by the recount, and "A Strong School Committee," which expressed satisfaction with the outcome of that election. The count was fully and fairly reported in the news columns and, concurrently with the count, one newspaper published a series of daily articles explaining P. R. and illustrating its operation with examples from Worcester and other elections.

#### **Invalid Ballots**

The number of invalid city council ballots cast was reduced from 2,920 at the 1955 election to 2,419, with a corresponding reduction in the school committee number. Officially compiled post-election statistics furnished much interesting information, including a tabulation showing the choice numbers used in the election of each successful candidate. A high percentage of voters in each of the two elections elected a first, second or third choice. Of the 5,896 city council ballots which became exhausted, 5,125 designated a choice for one or more elected candidates and relatively few of these ballots expressed as many as nine choices, the number of councillors elected.

The counting staff, in addition to Dr. Hallett, consisted of an assistant director, three certified public accountants who acted as "Official Result Keepers," nine women supervisors including a chief supervisor, and 128 women counters. Great public interest was manifested in the count, with large attendance, particularly in the evening. All count personnel were engaged by and under the

general direction of Robert J. O'Keefe, Worcester's city clerk. Much of the speed and accuracy which characterized the count were attributed to Mr. O'Keefe's selection of personnel on the basis of their aptitude test ratings rather than political connections.

GEORGE F. SHANNON

Official Result Keeper  
Worcester, Massachusetts

#### ***Cambridge Retains P. R., Holds 9th Election***

For a third time in five years citizens of Cambridge, Massachusetts, have voted to retain proportional representation for the election of the city council and school committee. The ballot question at the November 5 election called for a change to at-large plurality voting and a preliminary election to reduce the number of candidates in the regular election. The question was turned down by a greater margin than in any previous election: 18,516 "no," 13,707 "yes" and 3,098 blanks—a majority of 4,808 in favor of retaining P. R.

Under present state law, the P. R. question cannot be brought up again in Cambridge for another four years. There are, however, annual attempts in the state legislature to have it on the ballot at all elections, provided 5 per cent of the voters, about 2,500 in Cambridge, so petition. Outright legislative repeal is also regularly sought by the anti-P. R. forces.

Factors other than the merits of P. R. voting had, without doubt, considerable importance in this Cambridge victory. The question on P. R. was the second of two referenda on which civic groups were seeking a "no" vote. The first came on the ratification of certain appointments and promotions made by the school committee on purely political considerations and in violation of established merit principles and procedures. This well pub-

licized and vigorously opposed question drew 21,705 "no" votes against 10,400 "yes" votes, and must certainly have influenced the voting on the P. R. question.

The move to repeal P. R. was largely supported by the makers of the controversial appointments and was considered by many voters to have been a diversionary tactic. In addition, a Boston lawyer, widely known for his antipathy toward P. R., became identified with efforts to prevent the question of the appointments from appearing on the ballot, thus closely connecting the two issues in the mind of the voting public.

#### **Vigorous Campaign**

Nevertheless, credit must be given to the vigorous and imaginative campaign waged for the retention of P. R. Those organizations that have supported it as an integral part of the Cambridge Plan E charter in previous elections—the Cambridge Committee for Plan E, the Cambridge League of Women Voters and the Cambridge Civic Association—were again in the forefront, providing leadership and man power for door-to-door canvassing, a direct mailing to all voters, extensive advertising and poll work on election day. It is quite probable that the promotion for the "no" vote on P. R. gave reciprocal help to the organized effort opposing the school appointments.

The Cambridge Civic Association, which provides active citizen support for council-manager government in Cambridge and seeks to elect candidates to city office who are pledged to a program of civic betterment, held and slightly improved its position in the city council and school committee elections. The place of the one councilman who did not seek

reelection was retained by the CCA, by the election of a second woman. In order of election, the four CCA councilors-elect were among the first five declared elected to the nine-member council and all of them reached the quota.

In the school committee contest, the CCA gained another seat, giving it three out of six. The committee member whose seat was captured was one of those responsible for the controversial school appointments and he was defeated in seeking election to the council. Another of his school committee associates in the appointment venture was defeated and was replaced by an independent candidate.

The mayor, who serves as chairman of the school committee and who was most directly charged with responsibility for the appointments which were so overwhelmingly rejected at the polls, was nevertheless reelected to the council with nearly as large a surplus over quota as in the 1955 election. Another school committee member, whose defection from CCA made the appointments possible, was also reelected.

The Civic Association did have a higher proportion of the first-choice votes cast in the election than in 1955 and showed considerable improvement in strength in many areas of the city. As usual, the total vote was heavy, with 67.7 per cent of the voters turning out—nearly twice as many, proportionally, as in nearby Boston, which votes under the plurality system rejected by the voters of Cambridge.

ERIC H. HANSON  
*Executive Director*

Cambridge Civic Association

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**Taxation and Finance***Edited by Keith G. Willoughby*

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## State, Local Debt Now \$52.5 Billion

### 1957 Figure Is Three Times That of 1946

**A**DVANCE data from the 1957 Census of Governments show that state and local government debt totaled \$52.5 billion on June 30, 1957, an increase of \$4.5 billion over the year's earlier level and more than three times the \$15.7 billion outstanding in 1946. Of the more than \$50.4 billion accounted for by long-term debt, \$13.5 billion was incurred by state governments and about \$36.9 billion by local governments.

Approximately \$44.9 billion of the long-term debt can be broken down by purpose and, as might be expected, the most important cause for borrowing was schools, for which \$14 billion of bonds are outstanding. Of this total, \$12.3 billion was borrowed by localities and \$1.7 billion by the states. Over \$1 billion of the state school debt was for schools below the college level, an indication of the increasing support being given by state governments in this field.

Highway debt, \$10.7 billion, ranks second, and is largely a state obligation. It is interesting to note that of the \$7.3 billion of debt incurred by the states for this purpose, more than two-thirds—\$5.1 billion—was for state toll facilities.

The \$8.4 billion of debt for locally-owned water supply, electric, gas supply and transportation utilities accounts for the third largest portion of the aggregate, followed by sewers and sewage disposal, \$3.4 billion; housing and community redevelopment, \$3.3 billion; non-highway transportation facilities (airports, ports, terminals, parking, etc.),

\$1.7 billion; natural resources, \$1.4 billion; state veterans' bonuses, \$3.3 billion; and hospitals, \$772 million.

The department points out that there is a considerable difference between state and local levels in the purposes for which money is borrowed. Over half the state debt is for highways, and education and veterans' bonuses, next in importance, represent 12.8 per cent and 9.5 per cent of the total. About one-third of local debt is for schools and more than one-fifth for local utilities, on the other hand, with highways third but accounting for under 10 per cent.

Long-term local debt is arranged for more rapid retirement than state debt. Nearly 31 per cent of the former is due to be retired before the end of 1963, and over one-half through 1969, compared with scheduled retirement of less than one-quarter of state long-term obligations through 1963 and 44 per cent through 1969. This does not allow, however, for possible retirement of some of the debt before planned maturity dates and most toll facility bonds, which make up a sizable portion of state debt, have call provisions.

### ***Pa. Cities May Transfer Funds to Capital Reserve***

Third-class cities and townships of the first and second class in Pennsylvania will be permitted to make appropriations to capital reserve funds from the general fund in the future as a result of legislation enacted by the 1957 session of the General Assembly. The new statute gives these units the same power in this respect that boroughs have had since 1955. *Horizons*, publication of the Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, states that the

new law expands powers granted to all municipalities by the legislature in 1943, when the creation of special funds for postwar use was authorized. Previously, however, only unused appropriations and year-end general fund surpluses could be placed in the reserve funds, making it difficult to build up their balances. The revised law is designed to encourage greater utilization of this method of financing capital projects.

At the same time, more restrictions have been placed on the uses of the funds. Expenditures from the capital reserve funds may be made only for "the construction, purchase or replacement of or addition to municipal buildings, equipment, machinery, motor vehicle or other capital asset." There is a further provision in the case of townships and cities of the third class, but not of boroughs, that the funds may be used only for purposes specified when the fund is created, except with the approval of four-fifths of the local legislative body, which is also responsible for administering the funds.

*Horizons* points out that the revised law offers four great advantages to local governments. First, it will permit them to finance major, non-recurring capital improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis, instead of having either to borrow or to finance them from current revenues. Second, rather than paying interest out, they will now be able to receive interest on the moneys in the capital reserve fund. Third, they will be in a far better position if a depression should hit, because they will have less debt and because with money available they will be able to take advantage of lower costs and to provide employment through public works. Finally, by helping to offset the drop in private spending during a depression, the public expenditures will have a contra-cyclical effect instead of reinforcing present inflationary tendencies.

### **Canadian Cities Borrow From Own Citizens**

The *Municipal Finance News Letter* reports two Canadian cities, New Westminster, British Columbia, and Brantford, Ontario, have recently been successful in selling their bonds over the counter to their residents. Brantford, which has a population of about 50,000, sold \$342,500 worth of 5½ per cent bonds during 1957 in this way and each issue was heavily oversubscribed. The city expects to use the same method in marketing larger amounts of bonds in the future.

### **Denver Voters Reject Earnings Tax**

In a referendum held December 17 the voters of Denver rejected by a five to four margin the earnings tax mentioned in this column several months ago.<sup>1</sup>

The tax submitted in the referendum was a revised version providing for an exemption of \$1,000 for heads of families and taxation of all income above \$2,400 annually coming from interest, rents and dividends, and allocating 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the tax after administration costs to the general fund, with the balance going to capital improvements.

The city council repealed the original levy early in October after a Tax Action Committee formed by prominent citizens had gathered 32,000 signatures on petitions protesting it. It is reported that there was no opposition to the revised tax, with a number of opponents to the earlier version supporting the later one. But the vote, with 416 of the city's 429 precincts reporting, was 55,698 against the tax to 44,461 in favor.

<sup>1</sup> See the REVIEW, October 1957, page 481.



## Businessmen's Role In Public Affairs

### Speakers Feel Interest in Politics Is Needed

THE comments below are condensations of remarks before the National Conference on Government's session on "Politics and Public Affairs, Where Does Business Stand?", November 18, 1957, Cleveland. The discussion followed an address by Hon. Charles P. Taft, mayor of Cincinnati.

HENRY C. WILKINSON, mayor of Newport, Rhode Island:

Should businessmen run for public office? The answer is a positive yes—and the more successful he is in business, the more he should take an active part in public affairs. If I did not believe a businessman should enter politics, I would not be here today.

If I might use a personal example—I began my political career as a Republican councilman. After serving ten years on the council I became convinced of the value of the council-manager form of government and felt I could better serve the cause by being on the outside as an average citizen while working for a change in the charter with nonpartisan plan of election.

After being elected to the charter commission and seeing the charter accepted by the people, I decided to become the so-called elder statesman.

After the unhappy experience of witnessing the appointment of a city manager whose only previous experience apparently was selling parking meters, and seeing the wishes of a partisan majority of the council being carried out as in the old days, I succumbed to the urging of my friends and again sought office in the hope of strengthening the form of government I had worked for. After two

years—the past sixteen months of which we have had a capable city manager with previous experience—I feel we have brought a semblance of sanity and stability into the government and am looking forward to the next two years during which I believe we will succeed in proving to the people the advantages of the council-manager form of government. And it is with a certain pride that I add that, at the present time, all seven of the councilmen serving Newport are prominent either businesswise or professionally.

There is no doubt businessmen shy away from public office. Usually their excuse to me has been that they couldn't spare the time from business a political position would entail.

Of course, the question of publicly taking a stand on a controversial matter is bound to affect their decision even though they may not say so directly. I know from experience that this is true, but the loss is offset by the fact of becoming better known throughout the community.

Two elements having a direct bearing in making a businessman hesitate about taking an active part are: (1) They dislike being tagged with a party label, feeling it is definitely harmful to business; (2) (and this is something I have surmised through talking to some of my business acquaintances) they have a feeling that it would affect their standing as a successful businessman if they should be defeated.

But no government is any better than the people who are put in charge of it. If government is big business who should take an active part more than the successful businessman?

NORRIS NASH, vice president, Kaiser Industries Corporation, Oakland, California:

We all want to enjoy the fruits of a good business climate. Fortunately this

kind of climate is man made. We of business have the opportunity and the responsibility to help form it.

Dedication of executive interest to community affairs is no longer a brand of philanthropy or do-goodism. Business now realizes that levels of production have a geared relationship to levels of living. Business operations are influenced by the progressiveness of the community in which it operates. Business leaders cannot avoid giving increased attention to local political and economic influences.

With the trend toward more and more government controls at all political levels, plus the rising costs of government, business must enter the political arena as a major influence if not a participant.

Other participants in the discussion included: Edwin D. Dodd, factories manager, Libby Glass Division, Owens-Illinois Glass Company; Joseph J. Eley, executive secretary, Effective Citizens Organization, New York; Edward J. Green, executive assistant to the president, Westinghouse Air Brake Company, Pittsburgh; and Richard A. Trippe, president, Tripper Organizations, Memphis. James C. Worthy, vice president of public relations, Sears, Roebuck & Company, was chairman of the session; Bernard Klein, Insurance Division, Michigan Workmen's Compensation, was reporter.

### **Citizenship Clearing House Now Independent Group**

The Citizenship Clearing House began its second decade this fall in a new status, as an independent, tax-exempt corporation, acting under its own charter and governed by its own board of trustees, according to its *Bulletin* for November 1957.

"The new charter was issued by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, the agency authorized to grant corporate status to educational institutions in the state. Previously the Clearing House was affiliated

with the Law Center of New York University. . . .

"No shift in CCH objectives is involved in the change in status. In the charter's terms, the Clearing House is formed 'to assist in improving the understanding and appreciation of American political institutions and to encourage active participation of citizens in the political, civic and public life of their respective communities by providing interest-stimulating activities such as conferences; seminars; publications; research and field work opportunities for faculty, graduates and students of educational institutions; and by cultivating a climate of opinion in which such purposes may become generally accepted within the framework of sound educational objectives.'"

### **Make Film, TV And Radio Awards**

The 1957 Edison Foundation Mass Media Awards were announced at a dinner held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York December 2. Awards were made in the fields of television, radio and films.

*Television:* "Wide Wide World" (NBC) as "the television program best illuminating the current scene"; "Father Knows Best" (NBC) as "the television program best portraying the American heritage"; "Our Mr. Sun," "Hemo the Magnificent," "The Strange Case of the Cosmic Rays" (Bell Telephone Science Series) as "the best science television program for youth."

*Radio:* "Biographies in Sound" (NBC) as "the radio program best portraying America"; "Carnival of Books" (WMAQ, Chicago) as "the best children's radio program."

*Films:* "Twelve Angry Men" (United Artists Corporation) as "the film best serving the national interest"; "Around the World in Eighty Days" (Michael Todd Productions) as "the best children's

film"; "Secrets of Life" (Walt Disney Studios) as "the best science film for youth."

No awards were made to "the best children's television program" and "the best science radio program for youth," because of the scarcity of quality radio and television network programs in these fields.

The dinner was addressed by John C. Doerfer, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

Sixty-two organizations including the National Municipal League are cooperating with the Edison Foundation in its awards program to improve the quality of the mass media offerings, particularly as they affect juvenile audiences and interest boys and girls in science. Awards are determined by a vote of these organizations.

### ***Want Improved City***

The board of trustees of the Municipal League of Spokane, Washington, has requested the city council to consider election of a citizens' committee for charter revision to make necessary corrections and changes in the city charter. It has also recommended changes in the existing inadequate civil service regulations to give Spokane an efficient personnel administration and has suggested to the newly appointed Citizen's Airport Advisory Committee that it consider existing state legislation for establishment of a district airport commission.

### ***Lesson in Civics***

Pupils of the Gates Lane School in Worcester, Massachusetts, on the same day that their elders were electing a city council and school committee by proportional representation,<sup>1</sup> conducted their own P. R. election as a lesson in civics. Candidates actually on the city's ballot were used as candidates in the mock elec-

tion, which was supervised by the seventh-grade teacher at the school.

### ***Successful Drive***

Because of the great success of its 1957 membership drive, the Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County added 938 names to its roster. Termed a "Citizen Search," it has been the league's most successful drive, reports "Chief Marshal" Dick Kerker in the *Citizens League News*. "Our ten-gallon hats are off to our hard-riding marshals and their posses."

Rev. Henry Soltau galloped off with honors, corraling 59 new members.

### ***LWV Regional Conferences***

The League of Women Voters of the United States plans five regional conferences, set up by the national board to explore the function of the league in relation to changing patterns and trends in local government. The first was held in Washington, D. C., in September with delegates from Indiana, Tennessee, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maine, North Carolina, Virginia and New York.

Subjects discussed, to quote *State News*, issued by the League of Women Voters of New York State, "were community basis of organization, local government, evaluation of state and national field services, difficulty in reaching consensus, who speaks for the league, and the role of the citizen today in representative government."

### ***Citizen Participation Kit***

The American Council To Improve Our Neighborhoods (ACTION) announces publication of "The ACTION Citizen Participation Kit" for planning programs and projects. Eleven practical aids are available for \$1.00, with discounts on quantity orders:

*Citizen Organization for Community Improvement, Organization of Block Groups for Neighborhood Improvement,*

<sup>1</sup> See page 34, this issue.

*Sources of Aid—Information and Assistance for Citizen Housing and Community Development Organizations, Housing Code Provisions—A Reference Guide for Citizens Organizations, How to Organize an Improvement Organization, Citizen Action Committee, Time for ACTION, Who Does What in Urban Renewal, You and Your Neighborhood, Citizen Organization for Neighborhood Conservation, Why Don't You Have an Urban Renewal Conference?*

The kit may be ordered from ACTION, 2 West 46th Street, New York 36.

### **Strictly Personal**

Mrs. William H. Hessler, former member of the Cincinnati City Planning Commission and former president of the Cincinnati League of Women Voters, has been appointed executive director of the Hamilton County Good Government League.

### **CITY, STATE, NATION**

(Continued from page 27)

the major sources of information on municipal activities available to local officials.

RAYMOND D. BODNAR

Bureau of Government Research  
Rutgers—The State University

### **Alaska League Adopts Legislative Program**

Delegates to the seventh annual convention of the League of Alaskan Cities, held in Anchorage October 31–November 2, 1957, unanimously approved a six-point program drafted by the convention's legislative committee, which will continue to work for the attainment of these objectives in the 1959 legislature:

1. To secure the adoption of necessary legislation to permit home rule for cities of Alaska or, if that is not possible, adop-

tion of a new municipal code to provide a new legal basis under which the cities can operate;

2. The league to prepare or assist in the preparation of appropriate home rule charters for the use of municipalities;

3. To secure adoption of appropriate revenue measures for the benefit of cities; the legislative committee to draft such legislation after study and consultation with other governmental agencies operating in the same field in Alaska;

4. To introduce a bill for clarification of legal status in connection with title to all public places in cities, including the right to dispose of land in vacated streets and alleys;

5. Drafting of statutes to validate annexations and sales taxes, and otherwise to correct existing law adversely affecting city rights.

6. Prevention of tax exemption for associations operating under arrangements with the Rural Electrification Administration.

### **AMA Holds 34th Congress**

San Francisco was host to the 34th annual American Municipal Congress of the American Municipal Association, December 1–4, 1957, with some two thousand municipal officials, their families and other interested persons in attendance.

AMA president, Mayor Ben West of Nashville, Tennessee, referred in his opening address to the Russian satellites and said, "A little dog flying around in space caused official reaction in Washington that ran from not one iota of concern at first to the dire necessity now of ending urban renewal, airports, housing, sewage plant construction and a host of other programs seriously affecting the two-thirds of our people living in cities."

## Measure Detroit Party Affiliations

### Intensity of Group Activity Compared

**B**ASED upon research undertaken as part of the Detroit Area Study, *Political Affiliations in Metropolitan Detroit*, by Samuel J. Eidersveld, with the assistance of Ronald Freeman, Richard W. Dodge and Sidney Belanoff, has been published by the Bureau of Government of the Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, 1957, 199 pages). During the early months of 1952, data were gathered on the political affiliations of 749 adults living in Detroit and its environs through extended personal interviews. The sample was chosen by taking first areas, then households, then individuals within these households. The writers describe in detail their sample design and their interview procedures.

While many readers may be seriously concerned with the implications of the findings for a democratic system of government, particularly as it depends upon an enlightened and participating citizenry, they must accept the high probability that these findings are an accurate reflection of the types and extent of political affiliation in the Detroit metropolitan area.

As a result of the loose organizational structure of American politics generally, and the Detroit area in particular, the writers first explore some of the alternative meanings of the concept of political affiliation. While various measures of political affiliation were included in the study, the authors rely upon a combination of self-identification and reported voting records to achieve an index of political consistency.

This index of party consistency is then compared with the social and economic status, political attitudes, formal group membership, reference group membership and political participation of the respondents. Although the authors present a series of propositions relating to the existence and characteristics of a supposed "hard-core" of party members, the major value of the study lies in its detailed description of patterns of party affiliation.

Besides confirming the findings of earlier studies regarding the relationships of political predispositions to socioeconomic status and ethnic and religious group membership, this study reaches some interesting conclusions on the proportions of adults committed to political parties. Voting rates and participation generally show much higher levels of activity for those committed to political parties than for independents. The hard-core group is a minority of the total population but a significant proportion of those who actually vote. In the Detroit area, hard core Democrats make up about one-fifth of the total population but one-third of the voters; hard core Republicans about one-tenth of the total population and slightly more than one-tenth of the voters. Despite the broad generalizations of political pundits such as Lubell, only two groups display enough unanimity of choice to be described as bloc voters. These are Poles and Negroes, both thoroughly committed to the Democratic party.

Neither party comes close to achieving its potential return in the Detroit area and the Republicans are particularly weak in this respect. Committed Republicans are apparently more cynical about the efficacy of voting than Republican irregulars and Democrats, and Republicans show less consistency in stands on political issues than do Democrats.

These findings provide data for speculation on the effect of minority party membership on political attitudes. As expected, neither party's followers possessed any overwhelming degree of cohesion on issue matters.

For those concerned with the philosophic problems of the functioning of democracy in an urban area, this study provides hard facts concerning levels of political interest, affiliation and activity. For those interested in research on political behavior *per se*, it is a model of careful thinking, research and writing.

ROGER MARZ

Wayne State University

## Assess State Control Of Atomic Industry

The *Summary* of the Conference on the States and Atomic Energy Development, May 10 and 11, 1957, in Chicago (Council of State Governments, Chicago, 1957, 31 pages) and *State Control and Administration of Atomic Radiation* by William C. Ellet (Institute of Public Affairs, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1957, 48 pages, \$1) both point to a need for increased state regulation over the use of nuclear materials. In addition, the former is concerned with other state needs in controlling and promoting the application of atomic energy.

It was recognized that the goal of active state participation in this area is complicated by the fact that atomic energy was the creature of and controlled by the federal government from the beginning, and only later became an interest of other organizations.

Ellet reports that about half the states have administrative agencies possessing some authority to take action for the control of radiation hazards and suggests that "the time has arrived for all 48 states to cooperate and work with the Atomic Energy Commission to relieve it of some

of its responsibilities and to assume responsibility for areas not embraced by the commission's statutory jurisdiction."

The Council of State Government's conference specifically suggested the following steps for states which have not taken action:

a. Appointment by the governor of an advisory state committee on atomic energy to study the role of the state in this new area.

b. Establishment by law of an atomic energy coordinator in the office of the governor as recommended in *Suggested State Legislation Program for 1957* of the Council of State Governments.

c. Utilize existing departments and agencies to carry out state responsibilities in atomic energy development and regulation.

d. Work for uniformity of radiation health and safety codes among the states.

e. Develop an aggressive and well planned public information program on atomic developments, problems and opportunities.

## Bureau Offers Options For Town's Government

Under contract with the rapidly growing suburban Milwaukee town (township) of Menomonee, the Bureau of Government of the University of Wisconsin has prepared and published *Governmental Organization for the Town of Menomonee* (Madison, 1957, 118 pages). After describing the town's major features (physical, population, economic, land use and governmental) and analyzing the major service needs, the survey undertakes an evaluation of the governmental organization options available to the area. Ranked in descending order of desirability, the bureau lists as its first three choices: (1) "Merger of the entire town with either the city of Milwaukee or the village of Menomonee Falls," (2) "incorporation of the entire town as a fourth class city" and (3) "incorpora-



tion of the densely settled eastern sections of the town."

It is likely, in view of the metropolitan-wide nature of the problems and the current state study commissions on them, that "the responsibility for some of the problems which now face the people of Menomonee and residents of other units in the area will be shifted to governments at other levels."

### **Recent Publications Of University Bureaus**

*Participation in Representative Town Meeting* (Bureau of Government Research, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 7 pages, n.d.) furnishes basic statistical data on candidacy for, membership of and attendance at the representative town meetings in 40 Bay State towns.

*Planning Legislation in North Carolina* (Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1957, variously paged, \$1.00), organized and annotated by Philip P. Green, Jr., is a compilation of the basic statutes under which local planning programs may be set up and carried into effect in North Carolina. In addition, citations of legislative acts which are related to the work of the planning agency are included. The institute plans to issue replacement pages as changes in the laws are made.

*City Traffic Law Enforcement in Texas*, by John T. Thompson, (Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin, 54 pages, 1957, \$1.00) "attempts a statement of the problem and reviews the scope of municipal police powers in relation to traffic . . . presents the results of a survey made of police techniques used in traffic law enforcement in Texas cities having a population of 25,000 or more," and discusses "the functions, operations and problems of the city's traffic court."

*Municipal Police Power to Regulate Business*, by Stuart A. MacCorkle, (In-

stitute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin, 1957, 42 pages, \$1.50) analyzes the powers of Texas cities to enact ordinances regulating the operation of businesses. The Texas municipality is given broad statutory and/or constitutional powers of business licensing.

This study leans heavily upon judicial decisions to provide guidance in determining what a Texas city may or may not do in the regulation of 22 categories of business enterprise.

*Manual of West Virginia Municipal Government*, by Eugene R. Elkins and Todd H. Bullard, (Bureau for Government Research, West Virginia University, Morgantown, 1957, 65 pages) is a concise introduction to the organization and operation of the state's cities and towns. Chapter headings include State and City, Organization of Municipal Government, Election Officials and Functions, Corporate Procedures, Sources of Revenue, Fiscal Administration, Financing Capital Improvements, and Planning and Zoning. A selective bibliography on West Virginia local government and a useful index complete the work.

*A Handbook for Improving Iowa's Communities* has been published by the Institute of Public Affairs, State University of Iowa, in cooperation with the Iowa Council for Community Improvement (Iowa City, 1957, 93 pages, 50 cents). Edited by George B. Mather of the institute, the publication centers upon the community council as a device for the improvement it seeks. The first part describes the purposes community councils fulfill and how to get them organized, and presents a model constitution and by-laws (with explanatory notes) for such an organization.

The second section, Resources Available to Community Councils, is made up of short notes concerning organizations and institutions in Iowa which make and can make contributions to community improvement within the state.

*State Construction Projects and Local Government Services*, by James W. Harvey, (Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1957, 49 pages, \$1.75) is an inquiry into the need for special state aid to local units in areas where large state construction projects are under way and extra demands are made on public facilities. This study looks at these demands, at the difficulties in financing them and considers programs the federal and California state governments have developed for providing assistance to local communities hard hit financially as a result of the presence of government installations or for other reasons. In line with the California bureau's policy, no definite recommendations are made.

### **University of Missouri Sets Up Research Bureau**

A Bureau of Government Research is being established at the University of Missouri in the School of Business and Public Administration. George Y. Harvey has been appointed director for the first year of its operation.

Planned activities of the bureau, as noted by University of Missouri President Elmer Ellis, include:

(1) Preparation of brief research reports on current problems of general interest to municipal, county or state governments; (2) basic research into fundamental government problems; (3) handling of individual questions pertaining to governmental problems, posed by groups or by public officials; (4) assistance of a consultant and advisory nature to Missouri governmental units; (5) provision of facilities for training students for careers in government service; (6) assistance to the Adult Education and Extension Service of the University in connection with conferences of public officials and interested groups whenever such assistance is practicable and desirable; and (7) training of graduate stu-

dents in research on practical problems of Missouri government.

It is planned that each member of the professional staff of the bureau will also be a teaching member of the University Department of Political Science.

### **Roster of State Governors**

*The Governors of the States, 1900-1958*, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress for The Council of State Governments, (Chicago, 1957, 55 pages, \$1.50) brings together the names of all state governors of the twentieth century, showing also terms and years served, party affiliation and residence.

With William W. Hunt's *The Book of Governors, 1509-1933* (Los Angeles, 1935), a complete listing of the chief executives of the American states is thus now available.

### **GAF Issues Report**

The Government Affairs Foundation, founded by Nelson A. Rockefeller "to advance and improve the science of government and the administration of public affairs," has issued a *1953-1957 Report* (New York, 1957, 17 pages) reviewing its first four years. The emphasis during this period has been on public welfare programs and more recently on problems of urban growth. Work in these fields has involved research, conferences and advisory activities.

### **Strictly Personal**

Luther H. Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, New York City, received the Society for the Advancement of Management Life Membership Award at the society's 1957 fall conference.

# Books in Review

## Urban Sociology

**CITIES AND SOCIETY.** Edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957. ix, 852 pp. \$7.50.

This general reader in urban sociology was first published in 1951. It was then and still is a well organized text crammed with examples of useful research that were destined for a better end than one-time publication in scholarly periodicals.

The new edition drops 22 of 57 original selections but adds 27 new articles. Prominent among the latter are Basil G. Zimmer's "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures," Otis Dudley Duncan's "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," S. M. Lipset's "Social Mobility and Urbanization," B. F. Hozel's "The City, the Factory, and Economic Growth," Horace Miner's "The Folk-Urban Continuum," and Gideon Sjöberg's "The Preindustrial City." Thus new research is given a place beside the venerable and the not-so-venerable is eliminated.

The editors have done a remarkably good job in bringing to this volume the best of available new research. However, the result is an indictment not against two competent editors but against sociological research which apparently has not come up with much new in the present decade. Perhaps the preoccupation with methods has diverted attention too far from substance.

R.W.C.

## The City Manager

**CITY MANAGEMENT—A GROWING PROFESSION.** Report of the Committee on Professional Training of The International City Managers' Association. Chicago, The Association, 1957. v, 84 pages. \$2.00.

This is one of a series of five publications by The International City Managers' Association, the previous ones be-

ing *Selection of a City Manager, Trends in Salaries of City Managers, The Role of the Assistant to the City Manager, Guideposts on Assuming a City Manager Position and Handbook for Councilmen in Council-Manager Cities.*

This is the best of the lot and conveys the greatest amount of new information. It describes elaborately the day's work of city managers. The information covers comprehensively existing facilities for undergraduate and graduate training for public management as provided now in 30 listed universities. It is a valuable guide for young men who manifest a disposition to jump into the special kind of hot water this profession offers in the hope of sharing in the lively rate of advancement from small cities to large ones which awaits successful entrants to the profession.

The abundant detail constitutes a most useful element of persuasion to any investigator of the council-manager crusade, being reflective of the fine good faith and wholesome ambitions of the throng who now occupy managerships. It is all the more persuasive because it is as subjective and factual as the material permits without apparently seeking to be persuasive at all.

A fine contribution to the literature of the plan!  
R.S.C.

## Beautification and Planning

**AESTHETICS AND CITY PLANNING.** By Albert S. Bard. New York, Citizens Union Research Foundation, 1957. 15 pp. (Free, apply the Union, 5 Beekman St., New York 38).

This is a narrative of the 50 years of progress in securing recognition by the courts of aesthetic considerations in relation to billboards, private design in architecture, protection of community beauty, etc., down to the current problem in Congress of how to prevent the great new federal highway system from being turned into billboard alleys.

Mr. Bard has been an eager observer and participant in the battle from early days and is the leading scholar in the law of such matters. R.S.C.

### **Election Laws**

REPORT OF THE ELECTION LAWS STUDY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND. Providence, the Commission, 1957. v, 41 pp.

A committee of ten, constituted by legislative resolution No. H.1036, January 1957, has reported recommendations: to amend the constitution to permit voting by absentee and shut-in voters; improve the election administration organization; strengthen the permanent registration system, including signature identification of the voters applying for ballots; substitute permanent registration cards in place of specially compiled lists; and make primary elections for both parties on the same day, with transfer of the date to June rather than September.

### **Additional Books and Pamphlets**

#### **Annexation**

ANNEXATION MAKES SENSE. Merced, California, Planning Department, 1957. 11 pp. Table.

A FACTUAL REPORT ON ANNEXATION FOR THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA. By Robert G. Kelsey. Gainesville, Executive Department, 1957. viii, 74 pp. Maps. \$1.00.

#### **Assessments**

A LOOK AT REAL PROPERTY ASSESSMENT. First Report of Assessment Advisory Committee to the New York State Board of Equalization and Assessment. Albany, the Board, 1957. 80 pp.

#### **Auditing**

NEW LOCKS ON THE STATE TILL. By Lloyd Morey. Urbana, University of Illinois, Bureau of Economic and Business

Research, *Current Economic Comment*, November 1957. 7 pp.

#### **Budgeting**

GUIDES FOR CONTROL AND REDUCTION OF THE 1959 FEDERAL BUDGET. A Report of the Government Economy Committee Under the Chairmanship of J. F. Kurfees, Jr. New York 17, National Association of Manufacturers, Government Finance Division, 1957. 29 pp.

#### **Bureaucracies**

A MODEL FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES. By Jonathan A. Slesinger. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1957. 30 pp.

#### **Communities**

THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY. By Blaine E. Mercer. New York, Random House, 1956. xv, 304 pp. \$5.00.

#### **Debt**

THE OUTLOOK FOR INTEREST RATES. An Address by Joseph H. Taggart before The Municipal Forum of New York, October 18, 1957. New York, The Forum, 1957. 10 pp. (Apply Arthur R. Guastella, *The Bond Buyer*, 67 Pearl Street, New York 4.)

#### **Directories**

DIRECTORY AGENCIES AND OFFICERS, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1957-1959. Compiled and Edited by Henry Awana. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1957. viii, 72 pp.

1957 DIRECTORY OF MONTANA MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS. Incorporated Cities and Towns of Montana. Shelby, Montana Municipal League, 1957. 24 pp. \$1.00.

WEST VIRGINIA MUNICIPAL DIRECTORY. Morgantown, West Virginia League of Municipalities, 1957. 8 pp. \$1.00.

#### **Education**

AN ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS' SALARIES. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, 1957. 34 pp. Illus. 25 cents. (Discount on quantity orders.)

**Industry**

MIGRATION OF INDUSTRY. By E. D. Hollinshead. Washington 6, D.C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, November 1957. 5 pp. \$1.00.

**Inflation**

THE MECHANICS OF INFLATION. An Analysis of Cost and Demand Pressures on the Price Level. Report of the Committee on Economic Policy. Washington, D.C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Economic Research Department, 1957. 70 pp. \$1.00. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

**Judiciary**

THE COURTS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN IOWA. By Walter A. Lunden. Ames, Iowa State College, 1957. 133 pp.

**Legislation**

ACTS OF THE 1957 PENNSYLVANIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY AFFECTING LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. Compiled by Alan W. Maloney. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1957. 81 pp.

SUMMARY OF ALASKA LEGISLATION 1957. Juneau, Alaska Legislative Council, 1957. 61 pp. \$1.00.

**Legislative Bodies**

THE FIFTY-FIFTH TEXAS LEGISLATURE. A Review of Its Work. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1957. 39 pp. \$1.00.

HANDBOOK FOR ALASKA LEGISLATORS. Revised. Juneau, Alaska Legislative Council, 1957. 69 pp. \$1.00.

**Office Location**

THE PLANT, THE OFFICE, AND THE CITY. PART III: TRENDS IN OFFICE LOCATION. By Mabel Walker. Princeton, N.J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, September-October, 1957. 40 pp. \$1.00.

**Parking**

PARKING FOR COMMUTERS AT RAILROAD STATIONS. White Plains, New York,

Westchester County Department of Planning, 1957. 17 pp.

**Politics**

THE CLASH OF POLITICAL IDEALS. A Source Book on Democracy and the Totalitarian State. Third Edition. Selected and Annotated by Albert R. Chandler. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957. viii, 374 pp. \$1.65.

**President**

THE PRESIDENCY IN THE COURTS. By Glendon A. Schubert, Jr. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1957. xi, 391 pp. \$5.50.

**Public Administration**

EXECUTIVES FOR GOVERNMENT. Central Issues of Federal Personnel Administration. By Paul T. David and Ross Pollock. Washington 6, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1957. x, 186 pp. \$1.50.

A STATE DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION. Chicago 37, The Council of State Governments, 1957. 40 pp. \$1.00.

**Public Property**

PUBLIC PROPERTY MANAGEMENT. Financing Acquisition of Equipment, by Robert E. Develle; Inventory and Control of Public Property, by James J. Doyle; Establishing Rentals for Centralized Equipment Operations, by Richard H. Calland. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, November 15, 1957. 12 pp. 75 cents.

**Salaries**

TRENDS IN SALARIES OF CITY MANAGERS. Chicago, International City Managers' Associations, 1957. 47 pp. \$2.00.

WAGE RATES AND RANGES FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS IN CITIES AND OTHER GOVERNMENTAL UNITS. Chicago 6, Building Service Employees' International Union, Department of Research and Education, 1957. 19 pp. Tables.

**Streets and Highways**

THE NEW HIGHWAYS: CHALLENGE TO THE METROPOLITAN REGION. A

Series of Selected Papers Prepared as Background for a Symposium Sponsored by Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, September 1957. Washington, D.C., Urban Land Institute, 1957. 92 pp. \$3.00.

### **Taxation and Finance**

FINANCIAL STATISTICS OF NEW JERSEY LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Municipalities, School Districts, Counties. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1957. 57 pp. Tables.

INDIANA'S BILLION DOLLAR BIENNium. An Analysis of the State General Fund Reserve Policy in Relation to Income and Outgo. By Edwin B. McPherson and Y. Richard Tsukamoto. Bloomington, Indiana University, Department of Government, Bureau of Government Research, 1957. 29 pp. Tables.

1955 FINANCIAL STATISTICS SECOND CLASS TOWNSHIPS OF PENNSYLVANIA CENTRAL COUNTIES. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1957. 41 pp. Tables.

1955 FINANCIAL STATISTICS SECOND CLASS TOWNSHIPS OF PENNSYLVANIA EASTERN COUNTIES. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1957. 42 pp. Tables.

SPECIAL ACCOUNTING, AUDITING, REVENUE AND SUBSIDY PROBLEMS. By Frederick L. Cronan, Raymond B. Vecellio, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, November 1957. 36 pp. 50 cents.

### **Water**

WATER FOR INDUSTRY. A Symposium Presented on December 29, 1953, at the Boston Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Edited by Jack B. Graham and Meredith F. Burrill. Washington, D.C., American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1956. ix, 131 pp. Illus. \$3.75.

### **Woodrow Wilson**

REPORT FOR THE YEARS 1955-57 INCLUDING THE CENTENNIAL YEAR 1856-1956 WOODROW WILSON. New York 21, The Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 1957. 64 pp.

THE STORY OF WOODROW WILSON. By David Loth. New York, Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 1957. 56 pp.

### **ONE VOTE, ONE VALUE**

(Continued from page 20)

states commissions are empowered to act in the event of legislative failure. The obvious result of such an arrangement is to force the legislature's hand because of the natural desire to keep outsiders from doing the job instead. In Missouri and Ohio, reapportionment is handled exclusively by commission or designated executives, with districting formulae spelled out in the constitutions. Arkansas and Oregon are unique in that the Supreme Courts have been given extensive powers of review and revision of reapportionment.

These attempts to resolve the legislative problem are encouraging but, generally speaking, the legislatures still retain the power of apportionment. They also command a monopoly over the initiation of any kind of constitutional change in most states. But even in the face of such discouraging obstacles there is room for some optimism. Because apportionment is a perpetual problem, there is a recurrent and widespread interest which in several instances has borne fruit. Civic-minded groups can at times accomplish more than the political facts of life would seem to permit. Certainly the condition of apportionment today poses a formidable challenge to all of us.



# Members Reelect Morgan, Others

Cecil Morgan was reelected president and John S. Linen and William Collins vice presidents at the annual meeting of members of the National Municipal League held November 17 in connection with the National Conference on Government in Cleveland.



Cecil Morgan



Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr.

Regional vice presidents (see inside front cover) were reelected, with the exception of Ed. P. Phillips of Richmond, Virginia, who resigned because of ill-health. He was succeeded by L. E. Marlowe, Richmond civic leader who has served several terms on the League's Council.

New members of the Council, elected for three-year terms, were: Arthur W. Bromage, Ann Arbor; A. Earl Bryson, Colorado Springs; L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Missouri; John C. Cornelius, Minneapolis; Philip C. Ebeling, Dayton; Earl Kribben, Chicago; Norris Nash, Oakland, California; and Harold S. Shefelman, Seattle.

Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., who succeeded his late father as League treasurer after the latter had served for 35 years in that capacity, reported a sub-

stantial current operating deficit and urged its retirement by the end of the year.

Executive Director Alfred Willoughby reported on 1957 activities (see page 556, December REVIEW, for condensation). There was considerable discussion by members of the question of changing the League's name.

Assistant Director Allen H. Seed, Jr., reported that invitations had been received to hold the 1959 National Conference on Government in the following cities: Dayton, Boston, Jacksonville, Louisville and St. Louis.

## **Forbes Memorial Fund**

Friends of Russell Forbes, who was executive director of the League from 1928 to 1933 and who died suddenly last June, have established the Russell Forbes Memorial Fund at his alma mater, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania.

President Will W. Orr of the college has announced that the fund will be used for repayable loans to needy students of American government and public administration. Contributions to the fund may be sent directly to President Orr.

## **Named Ambassador**

Howard P. Jones, former executive director of the League, will be named ambassador to Nationalist China, according to a recent report. Mr. Jones, now deputy assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs, was counselor of embassy at Taipei several years ago.

A. Earl Bryson

Harold S. Shefelman

Philip C. Ebeling

John C. Cornelius

Norris Nash



## **All-America Awards**

*(Continued from page 1)*

hospital expansion. In 1957 schools in city and township consolidated to improve the programs of both.

**Neosho, Missouri.** Sparked by a successful city-wide flower box beautification program, leading groups enlisted more than 900 citizens to get better school facilities, streets, master plan, new hospital, new industry and modernized city airport. Encouraged by these achievements, citizens took action to annex adjacent areas to increase the size of the city by 50 per cent.

**Omaha, Nebraska.** Aroused by increasing inefficiency in its government, a vigorous citizen effort was organized, responsible citizens were elected to write a new city charter and, in the face of powerful opposition from city hall interests and discouraging results from a sample poll, two committees comprising 885 persons waged a successful campaign to adopt an improved charter.

**Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.** Continuing achievements that won All-America awards in 1949 and 1951, organized citizens took an interest in the renewal of obsolete sections. Evidence of their spectacular success: a \$100 million food distribution center built on a former dump, a new housing code and zoning ordinance, a vast redevelopment of the Eastwick section, and a current \$200 million center-city redevelopment.

**Vancouver, Washington.** Governed by an antiquated village-type charter, in the grip of vice, and faced with tough postwar growth problems, a group of determined citizens vowed to "set things right." They won a council-

manager charter in 1953. A state investigation helped in vice cleanup and, in spite of serious financial problems, they prepared a six-year plan of improvements. Joint action by city officials and citizens committees won voter approval of fire department, sewer and street improvements.

**Yankton, South Dakota.** In a concerted effort to make the city more attractive to its citizens, especially its youth, civic organizations pooled resources to improve public schools, local government and other public facilities: new school buildings and upgraded programs; a council-manager charter adopted; substandard riverfront housing cleared; streets repaired and resurfaced; police and fire protection improved; a citizens industrial development corporation organized to produce new jobs; a toll bridge across the Missouri River purchased and given to the states of Nebraska and South Dakota to operate toll free.

## **Bromage Honored**

Arthur W. Bromage, professor of political science at the University of Michigan and a member of the National Municipal League's Council, recently was awarded an honorary life membership in the Michigan Municipal League in recognition of his work "to foster greater understanding of the problems of municipal government and the role played by the elected official."

## **Graham Gets Fourth Term**

The Louisville board of aldermen has elected Thomas Graham, a League regional vice president, to his fourth term on the city's board of sinking fund commissioners, of which he has been president for nine years.

# Model County Charter

**T**O help citizens, county officials and state legislatures strengthen and modernize county governments, this model relies on the best American experience and on the work of several score distinguished authorities.

It includes provisions for county powers, administrative organization, fiscal procedures, planning and the election process as well as a comprehensive introduction that is a "quick" education in the history, problems and prospects of county government in the United States.

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## Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

### Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1955) .....	\$ .20
Charts: Council-manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three .....	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950) .....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1955) .....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1956) .....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1957) .....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1957) .....	.05
P. R. [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1955) .....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953) .....	.75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953) .....	.75

(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)

### Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946) .....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948) .....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941) .....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953) .....	1.00
Model County Charter, 112 pages (1956) .....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951) .....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954) .....	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954) .....	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1955) .....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953) .....	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948) .....	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954) .....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1957) .....	1.00

### Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946) .....	.55
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1956) .....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952) .....	3.50
Compilation of the 48 Direct Primary Systems, 54 pages (1957) .....	2.00
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1955) .....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1955) .....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1957) .....	1.00
Guide to Community Action, by Mark S. Matthews, 448 pages (1954) .....	4.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954) .....	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE- VIEW), 12 pages (1953) .....	.25
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955) .....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951) .....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940) .....	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954) .....	.35

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